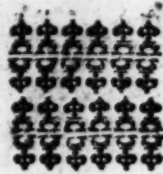


*Rob<sup>t</sup>. Davies*

A Brief  
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IN A  
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TO THE  
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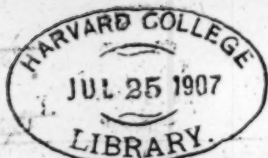
*By L'Estrange.*



L O N D O N,

Printed by *J. Bennet*, for *Charles Brome*, at the Gun in St.  
Paul's Church-yard, MDCLXXXVII.

Robt. Davis



Gift of Ernest A. Dane  
of Boston.

HISTORY  
OF THE  
TAMM HALL  
PRISON  
TO THE  
Third Volume  
OF  
OBSERVATIONS

By J. B. Davis

LONDON.

Printed by J. B. Davis, for Charles Brown, at the Gun in St.  
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# To Posterity.

**T**Hese Papers are the *True History*, and bear the *Lively Image* of the *Lewd Times* they were *Written* in, and, Consequently, not for the *Palate* of the *Present Age*: For a *Wicked Generation* will no more bear *Truth*, in a *Book*, than an *Ill-Favour'd Woman* will bear it, in her *Picture*, or in her *Looking-Glass*: And though the *Fault* be Manifestly in the *Face*, or in the *People*; 'tis the *Poor Innocent Painter*, that is to be *Curs'd* for't, and the *Glass Broken*; because her *Ladyship's Nose* stands awry, perhaps; or that the *Manners* of the *Age* will not *Endure* the *Light*. This is the very *State* of the *Case*, & the *Ground* of the *Quarrel*, betwixt the *World*, and *These Dialogues*. The *Figures* are drawn from the *Life*; the *Matter of Fact*, is *Evident*, and *Certain*; the *Doctrine*, *Orthodox*; and, upon the *Whole*; the *Office* is self, and the *Application* of it, have had many *Publique*, and *Honourable Testimonies*, for an *Honest*, and a *Necessary Duty*. But *Men*, I perceive, do not allways know their *Own Minds*; for after I had stood the *Uttermost Malice* of the *Common Enemies* of the *Church*, and *State*, for almost *Four Years* together, during the *Course* of *These Papers*; and without the least *Change* of *Mind*, *Resolution*, *Countenance*, or so much as of *Pretext*: After I had, I say, born all manner of *Indignities* for the sake of *Both*; (divers *Practices* of *Perjury*, and *Subornation* against me, over and above) and all *This*, purely for the *Love* of *Common Justice*, and out of a *Sense* of what I owe to my *Prince*, and *Country*; I found my self in *February* last was *Two Year*, to my *Great Admiration*, Deliver'd over to *New Tormentors*; and I have been *Treated* at such a *Rate*, by *Another sort of People*, that the *Venom*, and the *Scurrility*, the *Rage*, and the *Slander* of my *Profess'd Adversaries*, was but a *Flea-Biting*, to the *Wounds*, and the *Reproches* that I have suffer'd ever since, from several of my *Pretending Friends*.

For these *Reasons*, (and *More*) I have made *Choice* to *Address* my *Self*, and my *Matters* to *Posterity*, in *This Appeal*, from the *Iniquity*, and *Injustice* of a *Faction* of the *Last Edition*. Not as if the *World* were likely to *Mend*; or the *People* that come *After* us, to be *One jot Wiser*, *Juster*, *Honester*, or *Better-Natur'd*, than *Those* that went *Before* them: But *All Passions Sleep* in the *Grave*; and as there's no *Place* for *Envy*, *Calumny*, *Partiality*, or *Imposture*, on the *One* hand, so there's as little room for *Corrupt Interest*, *Mercenary Design*, or *Servile Adulation*, on the *Other*. The *Dead* do not *Bite*, they say, and the *Living*, (unless they be *Hagg-Wolves*) will not *Bite* the *Dead*. People are well enough pleas'd to see [ *Abuses Strip*, and *Whipt*, ] (as *George Wickers* has it) provided that they be *Lash'd* upon *Other-Folk's Shoulders*. Now this can never fall out, where the *Parable*, or the *Embleme*, is of *One Season*, and the *Moral*, of *Another*: For in the *One Case*, the *Painter* comes to *Me*; and in the *Other*, I go to the *Painter*. 'Tis much as in a *Nuisance*; No body is to lay a *Dunghill* just under *My Nose*; but if I'll Carry *My Nose* to *Another mans Dunghill*, I may thank my self. Now 'tis quite another bus'ness, where the *Mar*, and the *Satyr* are both of a *Time*: For the *Guilty* are *Naturally Suspicious*; and He that's *Conscious*, will be apt to say to himself, [ *This Whim*, or *That Tom*, *Points at Me*. ] A *Character*, in *This Case*, shoots *Hail-Shot*, and *Strikes* a great many more then ever the *Marksmen*, either *Aim'd* at, or *Dreamt* of. There is a great deal of *Difference*, I know, betwixt the *Whipping* of the *Vice*, and of the *Man*; and betwixt the *Whipping* of the *Vice* for the *Mans* sake, and the *Whipping* of the *Man*, for the sake of the *Vice*. But be it as it will; 'tis *Nonsense* to *Imagine*, that a man draws a *Figure* in the *Air*, and *Means* *No body*; or that he had not *some One Man* more in his *Thought* then *Another*, toward the *Instructing*, or the *Finishing* of the *Piece*. *Wickedness*, and *Knavery*, can never be *Drawn* *To* the *Life*, but *From* the *Life*: And the most *Genuine Images* that we have of *Virtue*, and *Vice*; *Wisdom*, and *Folly*, are *Gather'd*, and *Wrought*, from the *Practices*, and *Habits* of *Humane Life*. This sort of *Essay*, is no more then *Nature*, taken in *Short-hand*; and He that *Treats* of *Good* and *Evil*, does but *Common-Place* *Mankind*; only the *Difference* is, that the *Same Writings* that are *Censur'd* for the most *Virulent Libels*, (how *True* soever) in *One Age*; Pass, many times, for the most *Excellent*, and *Profitable* of *Morals*, in *Another*. *Plain-Dealing Writers*, Meet with the *Fate* commonly, of *Publique-Spirited Professors*, and *Ruine Themselves*, for the *Good* of their *Successors*: And therefore, a *Frank*, *Clear-minded Man*, that stands *Condemn'd* to the *Mortification* of *Rubbing-out* his days in a *False*, *Damning*, *Narrow-Hearted World*, cannot do better, then to withdraw his *Effects*, from among *Parasites*, and *Sharps*; and to *Deposit* the *Care* of his *Memory*, and *Good Name*, in the hands of those that are yet *Unborn*.

*These* are *My very Circumstances*. My *Judges*, are *Parties*: and, as the *Case* stands, both *Witnesses*, and *Jury*, in a kind of *Combination* against me. Whither should I *Fly* now, from the *Tyranny* of *This Passion*, and *Prejudice*, for *Relief*, and *Protection*, but to *These Times*, when the *Bias* of *This Controversy* shall be taken off; The *Intrigue*, and *Interest* of it, *Extinguish'd*, and *All the Present Litigants*, on *Both sides*, laid to *Sleep*? Especially, since the *Cause* is self, and the *Merits* of it, will, most *Infalibly*, come *Whole* to the *Next Age*: For my *Charge*, & *Every Article* of it, being *Founded* upon *Those very Papers* that I do here *Transmit* to *A later Time*, for my *Defence*; the *Fact* lies *Open* to *All men*; and *Done*, or *Not Done*, is the *Question*: Wherein, *Every Soul* that can *Read*, may *Satisfy* himself.

I have not the *Vainity*, all this while, to *Con'end*, with so much *Formality* of *Power*, and *Zeal*, for the *Single Credit* of the *Observer*, or of his *Trifling Papers*: But so it is, that without *Ostentation*, the *Honour* of the *Government*, and of *All the Kings Loyal Subjects*; The *Light*, the *Authority*, the *Tradition*, and the

Faithfull

*Useful Memorials of Truth it self, (as to This Point) are not a little Concern'd in the Issue of This Cause. For, with All Deference to the Works of many Able Pens, that have Asserted the Same Interest, I may yet, with Modesty Assert, that This is the Only Weekly Paper, that has Stood at Mark now, for almost Six Years together, without so much as One Discontinuance. And to what End, but to Encounter Scandalous, and Republican Positions; Scandalous Shams, and Defamatory Impositions, so soon as ever they took Air; And to let the People Right, in the Truth, and Reason of Matters? And this has been done with so much Care, and Effect, that the most Shameless of my Enemies, could never lay a Finger yet, upon any One Falshood of Fact, or Error of Doctrine, in the Whole Train of These Observations; and all the Buffs about them, has been only General Hear-say, and Clamour. Now upon the Credit of These Writings, depends, in a Great Measure, the Credit of the History of These Times; to the Extreme Hazard of Misleading After-Ages; when they shall find, on the One hand, so many Deposing, Disinheriting, Excluding, and Impeaching Nemine Contradictent's; So many Forsworn Partatitves; So many Thousand of Treasonous, and Slandrous Libels; All, Printed, Publish'd and Recommended, under a Masque of Authority: and on the Other hand, little more than This Miserable Paper, to Oppose them? What will Future Times say of This Government, and of This Nation, when they shall Read of a Prince in a Plot against his Sovereign & his Brother? A Queen, and a Wife, in the Same Plot against her Husband? Nay, of a King in a Plot against Himself; and Subj. in a Conspiracy to Murder their Prince, upon an Insinck, and Principle of Religion. What will Posterity Think, I say, when they shall find All These Diabolical Calumnies Confirm'd, by so many Pefilent Poets, Narratives, News'es, and Pamphlets, with the Solemnity too, of Parliamentary Testimonials, and Imprimaturs? What will they Think, I say, when they shall find Dr. OTES, Capt. BED-LOE, Capt. DANGERFIELD, Stephen DUGDALE Esq. with a Hundred Worthies more of the Same Batch, Canoniz'd for Saints, forsooth, and the SAVIOURS of the Nation? So many Mediations for Pardon, and Preferment, for 'em: So many Pulpits, and Tribunals, Trouping along for Company, with These Hosanna's too? What shall Charity it self be able to say, to This Cloud of Authorities, and Certificates? to This Harmony of Lyes, and Defamations, when they shall see so Black a Story pass Current, without either Contradiction, or Controul? As if the Beings of a whole Nation had been Turn'd in their Heads like a Pancake; Conscience fall'n asleep; Truth Struck Dumb; humane Reason Degenerated into Brutality, and not One man of a Thousand, that had the Heart to stand up for Religion, or Justice. The Next Generation would have taken This History, for Gospel, if some body or other had not put in, to shew the World, that These their Celebrated Saviours, were Devils Incarnate; Their Pretended Plot, Supported by Subornation, and Perjury; Their Evidence-CAPTAINS, DOCTORS, and SQUIRES, only so many Pick-Pockets, Cheats, and Knights of the Post, Rak'd together: The Refuse of Pillories, and Jails; the Scandal of Christianity, and the Shame of Mankind.*

And now, Gentlemen of the Next Age, to whom These Presents shall come: Here's the Whole Matter laid before ye, in These Papers; the History of the Times; the Merits of the Cause; the Reason of the Points in Question, Debated Pro and Con; the Truth of Things, Separated from Falshood, and Imposition; the Frands of a Republican Faction, Detested; Their Methods, and Designs laid Open, and the Malice of them Defeated; the People Caution'd, and Instructed, both in their Interest, and in their Duty; for fear of Mistaking their Enemies, for their Friends; and their Friends, for their Enemies. This has been my Business: And whether or no I have Discharg'd all these Offices, Truly, Candidly, Faithfully, Sincerely, and in One word, as a Good Christian, a Loyal Subject, an Honest Man, and a Hearty Lover of his Country, Ought to do; be You the Judges. 'Tis True, I have been Arraign'd, by Common Fame, of Levity, Disguise, Hypocrisy, Double-Dealing, Halting betwixt Two Opinions; Inconsistency with my self, and by the force of Credulity, Calumny, and Practice, Ground, as it were, betwixt Two Millstones.

From April 1681, to the Death of the Late Blessed King, I was Worry'd by Common-Wealth-men, and Their Accomplices; but with the Wonderful Kindness, and Esteem, of All the Protest'd Friends of the King, the Monarchy, and the Church, to Balance the Outrages of That Aversion. I was ever an Infidel, as to the Plot; and made, Consequently, a Popish Instrument, at least, to Downright Papists; A Ridiculer of the King's Willness, and (in the Style of Those Days) of the Willness of the Nation. And This Entertainment, of Good, and Evil, was not without some Colour of Reason neither, on Both sides: For the Republicans made Good the very Worst of my Surmises, and Fore-bodings; They never fail'd of saying, what I said they were about to do; and I am the Only Man, perhaps, that, in a Tract of Eight and Forty Years Experience, they never Detect'd: But I had now, little more to do, then to look Behind me, to know what was to Come. For there was Nothing New, in the very Phrase, Air, and Course of Proceedings, more then the Sublimating of the Old way of Calumny, and Hypocrisy, into a Barefac'd, an Open, and a True-Protestant Perjury; and where the Witnesses Blunder'd, or happen'd to Interfere; whether with One another, or with Themselves, they were either brought-off by the Charity of a Well-Affected Comment, or otherwise, there were Inferences drawn from the Principles of the Religion, to the Proof of the Fact, and a [PRIEST,] or a [PAPIST] was taken for Synonymous, with a CONSPIRATOR, or a TRAITOR.

After I had finish'd my Two First Stages, with an Universal Hatred on the One side, and Approbation, on the Other: (For whatsoever Absolv'd the One, must needs do the Other a Service:) It pleas'd God to call Charles the Second to Himself, and James the Second (whom God long preserve) to the Crown: Which was in February 1684, where I Begin This Third Volume; and from Whence, I am to Date the Hard, the Unequal, (or what if I had said?) the Unjust Stage, I have met withall, from That Day, to This: But the TIME, barely, without Other Circumstances, will signify little to the Enforming of Posterity, in the True State of This Matter; and therefore, I shall in a very Few Words, lay Open the Secret Springs, and Motions, that led to This Unexpected Change.



The Popish Plot was made a Cover to a Republican Conspiracy; which, tho' it began in a Party, was to be Concluded in a Tragedy. The Way was, First, to make Popery a Bug-bear to the People; and Then, where they could not get Oaths, to make any man a Statutable Papist; and to Swoop him into Obedience; they had a Device, to bring him into the Toyl, under the Lanthorn of a Republican Papist; I or a Popish-affected, which Involv'd the Members of Both Churches, alike; and we had hardly any Discriminating Mark left us, of a Good Christian, even from an Infidel; (or worse) then the Call of Peter's Hammer, and the Belief of it, to the very Black-Bills, and Bullard-Bills. The Project was to Plausibly, and went down so Glib, (though never such Sorts as the Tools that Winnef-wit) that when the King's Life, and the Protestant Religion, were said to be at Stake; he was no longer a Son of the Church of England, that Oppos'd it; and to be a Friend to the Plot, was to be a Friend to Calvary. I am Ashamed to Reflect, or so much as to Think upon, the Inconsiderate Mistake, the Gross Oversight, the Glaring Compliances, and the Ungovernable Madnes of That Season. But upon the whole Story, the Application will be This: that True, or False; Credible, or Incredible; Possible, or Impossible; It comes all to a Case, where the Multitude are taken Captive in their Imaginations, and have no longer any other Rule, besides Will, or Liking, then what they draw from the Dislike of their Leaders. This was the Pretext, that brought Charles the First to the Scaffold, and that was, likewise, in a Fair way of bringing his Late Sacred Majesty, to the Same End. Now Computing with my self, how much more Popular, and Discreet, the Same Pretext would be, under a Prince, in Communion with the Church of Rome; then it was in the days of his Two Royal Predecessors; Upon the Crisis of That Great Revolution, I changed the Bias of my Papers a little, and did what I could, to Obviate the Hazards, and Disreputations, that I perceive, by This Time I had but too much Reason to Fear. In the Two Former Parts of These Dialogues, I thought it Reasonable to Caution a Sort of Unwary, Short-sighted, Well-Meaning Men, against the Snares, and Practices of the Common Enemy; and in this Third Volume, I judg'd it no Less Reasonable, to give the Same People the Same Caution, over again: but with This Additional Consideration, that they should have a care of themselves too, as well as their Subalterns: For Bigottry is every way as Dangerous, as Luke-warmness; and to be Over-Rightsious, (according to the Text) on the One side, is All-out as Bad, as to be Over-Scrupulous, on the Other; and much the Heavier Evil of the Two. Zeal must be bounded by Knowledge: Nay, it must be Guided by it; for it is Knowledge that leads us to Truth; and we are never Right, but when they do, All Three Meet upon the Same Point. Short of it, Beyond, or on Either side of it, are only such or such Degrees, more, or less, of Folly, and Error. A man may be too Zealous for a Good Thing, as well as against it; when That Zeal has more in it of Heat, then of Light. They that pretend to Christianity, and call for Fire from Heaven, even in the Case of Religion itself, do not know of what Spirit they are. In One word, All Extremes are Stark Naught, both in Divinity, and in Reason; and One ill Circumstance, is Sufficient, to Destroy the Merit, and to Blast the Glory, of the most Honourable Undertaking, and Prience. A man may Cut the Throat of his Own Religion, by Contending for it. How many Men have we seen to Set-up, and pass for Patriots, in Common Fame, and Reputation, that, in the Sight of God; and in the Courts both of Law, and Conscience, have been found no better then Avowed Traitors? This is no more then to say, that we are to Govern All our Actions, with a respect to Persons, Customs, Laws, Times, Places, Duty, Good Manners, Propriety, Measure, and Discretion. 'Tis Possible, that a man may forfeit One Privilege, or Title, by Invading Another; and Lose what he has Already, by Grasping at more then belongs to him. To say Nothing of the Imprudence of the Weaker Provoking the Stronger; the Unwarrantableness of Subjects Stepping out of their Province, to Intermeddle in Matters of State; the Sin, as well as the Scandal, of Irreverent, and Contemptuous Immunities. The Impetuosity of an Intemperate Ardour of Contention; the Affectation of Popular Applause, in Setting-up for the Head of a Party; &c. These, and a Hundred other Difficulties came into my Head, upon This Occasion; and I was Heartily afraid, what might come on; if the Wisdom of the Serpent should not Accompany the Innocence of the Dove: for there goes more then Greek, and Latin, to the making of a Thorough-Wise Man; and if States-men, and Divines, would but Respectively Attend their Proper Functions, they would each find as much work as they could turn their Hands to, in their Own Trade. And then, the Better, the Worse; when the Burning Intention of Holiness makes People forget the Indispensable Allegiance of a Civil Duty. But to come now to the Point: I was thus thinking within my self.

If the bare Name, and Fancy of Popery, had the Power to Destroy One Imperial, Protestant Prince, and to Endanger Another; together with the very Foundations both of Church, and State, in Three Kingdoms; and without any Other Aid to the Doing of it, then the Artificial Manage of the Imposture: What will not the Same Cheat over again, (under Our Circumstances) be able to bring about? if any Unwary Zealots among our selves, should chance to Joyn in the Same Fears, and Jealousies, and give Credit to the Conspiracy! We have the Word of a Prince, of Faith, and Honour, for our Security: A Prince of Grace, and Clemency: A Prince of Power, Justice, and Resolution; and it will be our Own Fault, if we fail of our Own Desires, and Wishes. Diffidence in the Case, is both an Ingratitude, and a Provocation; Or if we cannot avoid Being Distrustful, 'tis Extremely Faint yet, Foolish, and Extravagant, to Talk on't; for we do not only Betray our Selves, but Create Suspensions in Others; and where Subjects are the Aggressors, 'tis Time for Princes to look about them. Inasmuch, that 'tis Base, to Suspect; Foolish, to Discover our selves; and Boastful, to Struggle, where we are Sure to be Worsted. The Honour of Princes is to be kept Religiously Sacred, in Thought, Word, and Deed: And however the Ratio may Mince the Matter, a man may as well, (in Conscience) Defame his Prince, in words as length, as by a Glance. If a man Preaches upon This Text, All Mouths are presently Open upon him, with a [What! Shall we Defend Our Religion?] I Answer, Yes, Undoubtedly. He that upon Good Ground finds himself in Possession of the Truth, ought



(A)

ought rather to *Dye*, then Relinquish it: *Fathers, Mothers, Brothers, Sisters, Friends, Relations, Acquisitions, Life, and Estate*, are All *Nothing* to't, where they fall in *Competition*. But then the *Defence* must be *Apostolical, Primitive, and Christian*, without *Noise, Tumult, or Force*: There must be no *Drawing of Swords* in the *Case*; No, not so much as any *Grumbling, Calumniating, or Repining Towards* it: No *Cutting of Ears off*; No *Military Executions*: For to *Trouble Governments* under *That Pretext*, is to *Renounce* the *Doctrine of Christianity*, and *Example of our Blessed Saviour Himself*. What's the *Difference*, betwixt *Actual Violence*, and *Scandalous, Provoking Word*, and *Practices* that *Leade to't*? any more, then as they are *Debital Links of the Same Chain*? 'Tis the *Heart*, sets the *Tongue at Work*; The *Tongue*, the *Hands*: And 'tis the *Devil Himself*, that blows the *Coal of Sedition*, into a *Blaze of Religion*. How often have I *Talk'd, and Turn'd These Thoughts*, and *Discourses* over and over, upon *Occasion of Considering the State of our Affairs*! Why These *Animosities*, say I, among *Christians*, upon the *Subject of Religion*, in so *Notorious a Contradiction* to the *Faith* that we *Profess*? As if the *Salvation* of a *Nominal Protestant*, depended upon the *Damnation* of a *Papist*. Neither are we to *Stand*, or to *Fall*, upon *Their Bottom*, nor *They* upon *Ours*; but *Every Man to his Own Master*. Cannot I *Maintain my Own Religion*, without *Waging War* against *Others*? There's room enough, upon the *Points* wherein we *Agree*; and upon the *Topique of Good Life and Manners*, for the *Christian*, and *Charitable Exercise of Holy Duties*. And as to the *Points* that are in *Controversy*, we may *Deliver, and Assert*, our *Own Persuasion*, without *Lashing-out* into *Invectives* against *People of a Differing Taste*. That *Bitterness of Spirit*, does not become the *Disciples of our Blessed Lord*. Beside that the *Multitude* are *Prone* enough to *Faction*, of *Themselves*, without *Incentives* to't; and need no *Enconragement*, or *Example*, to *Transport* them into *Distempers*. Nay, it is a *Mitter of Dangerous Consequence*, to have them *Alienated*, or so much as *Permitted*, to *Rail at Things* that they do not *Understand*; For it puts them in *Possession* of a most *Pernicious Liberty*; which will take the *Same Freedom*, in *State*, that it does in *Religion*; when they are once set a *gog* by *This Itch of Meddling*, upon *Controversy*, and *Brawl*, without any *Sense of the Truth*, and *Reason of Things*. Let the *Doctors* *Sport*, *Themselves* like the *Leviathan*, in the *Depths*, and *Subtilties* of the *Schools*; The *Simplicity* of the *Gospel*, takes no *Delight* in *High Flights* and *Figures*: Neither are the *Common People*, *Proper Judges* of *Abstracte*, and *Mysterious Points*. *Their Province* is *Reasonable Resignation*, and *Dutyfull Obedience*; without taking upon them the *Office of the Chair*. *Their Business* is the *Plain Truth of Things*; and not to *Trouble* their *Heads* about the *Cracking of Controversies* that are too *Hard* for their *Teeth*. 'Tis a kind of a *Protestant Implicit Faith*, to *Assent* to they know not *what*; and I take an *Unknown Meaning*, to be *Every jot as Bad*, as an *Unknown Tongue*. There can be no *Edification*, without a *Due Understanding* of the *Matter Propounded*. And it is much about the *Same Thing* too, in *Religion*, as it is in *Government*; I find *Little*, or *No Difference*, upon the *Parity of the Reason*, betwixt *Haranguing* against *Papery at Cripple-gate*, (for the purpose) and against *Arbitrary Power at Guildhall*. The *Reforming Porters*, and *Carmen of One and Forty*, understood *Privileges of Parliament*, *Every jot* as well as they did the *Rights of the Bishops Votes*. In fine; This is a way to *Transport* *People*, not to *Enform* them; and to make a *Party*, without any *Prospect*, of *Clearing*, or *Establishing a Truth*.

With *These Contemplations*, and *Precautions*, about me, and, not without *Divers Previous Discourses*, and *Deliberations*, upon the *Sober Apprehensions* I had, of the *Hazzard of a Mistaken Zeal*, on *That Notable Change*, and *Conjuncture of Affairs*: I proceeded to *This Third*, and *Concluding Part* of my *Observations*. I found, that the *Church of England*, could not, either in *Honour, Reason, or Prudence*, *Doubt* of his *Majesties Goodness, Justice, and Protection*, and *Consequently* of her *own Safety*; nor, in *Truth*, run any *Risque at all*, but by the *Forfeiture of That Loyalty*, to all manner of *Purposes*, which she has ever *Practis'd*, and *Profess'd*. I Consider'd (as I ought to do) the *Mighty Work of Divine Providence*, in the *Disposition of the Crown*; and the *Fatality* of any *Gross Miscarriage*, in the *Matter of Reverence*, and *Duty*, on the *Part of the Subject*. I had in my *Thoughts*, a *Thousand Difficulties*, what the *Heats of Some*, the *Ignorance of Others*; the *Fends*, and the *Piques of Murineers*, as well as of *Unthinking Zelors*, might probably bring upon us, without *Singular Care*, and *Moderation*, toward the *Preventing of Mischief*. But the *Thing* I fear'd above all others, was the *Imposture of Whores, dress'd-up in Herps Cloathing*; and least the *Common Enemies of our Peace*, and *Wellfare*, a *Sort of People* among our selves, that stick neither to *Canon*, nor *Rubrique*, should *Cast out a Bone* betwixt his *Majesty*, and the *Loyal Subjects* of his *Blessed Father*, and *Brother*, and no *Less*, of his *ROYAL SELF*, and *Cry, The Church of England* did it: As if so many *Rogues in Red Coats*, should *Robb the Kings Chappel*, and *Cry, the Guards* did it. Upon this *Agitation of Matters*, I concluded within my self, that *This* was the *Time*, for the *Kings Reformed Subjects* of the *Establish'd Church of England*, to make *Good* the *Character* of their *Integrity*, and the *Allegiance* of their *Profession*: and without *Complementing-away*, *Articles of Faith*, to *Joyn* with the *Roman Catholics* in a *Harmony of Reverence* to their *Prince*, as *Fellow-Subjects* to the *same Master*. For the *Scandal* is not to be *Born*; not to be *Defended*; and never to be *Forgiven*, to *Charge Roman Catholics* with *Undisffulness* to their *Soveraign*, and yet, at the *same Time*, not to *Unite*, as *Frankly* with *Roman Catholics*, in the *Defence* of a *Prince of That Persuasion*; as ever the *Roman Catholics* did with *Church-of-England-men*, in the *Defence* of his *Majesties Protestant Father*. In *One word* more; (for I would be very *Explicit* upon this *Subject*) I bent my *Uttermost Endeavours* toward the *Allying*, and the *Pacifying* of all *Unkindnesses*, and *Aversions*; which, My *Interpreters* have been pleas'd to call [*A Project for the Uniting of the Two Churches*,] and to *Issue-out* so many *Anathemas*, and *Fulminations*, against me for, that if their *Prayers* had been *Heard*, I had been *Fifty Fathom under Ground* before this *Time*. Here lies the *Core of the Ulcer*; and who but the *Noisy Advocates*, (as they pretend) for the *Protestant Cause*, to *Move This Wraith*, and *Indignation* against me! They look *Big*, and *Grave*; They *Garnish* the *Matter* out, with *Pomp, Form*, and *Sollemnity*: and

and when they have turn'd up their Stomachs, their Disciples Gather up the *Qualm*, as the *Lesser Poets* did *Homers*, and set-up for *Authors* upon't. But in fine; the Story has not One Syllable of *Truth* in't, as is made Evident, beyond All Contradiction; over and over; in *These Papers*; and, yet, betwixt *Credulity*, *Passion*, *Lazyness*; & want of Skill in *Common Sense*; *Transubstantiation*, & *Idolatry*, the *Bug-bear* of the *Times*, has not been more *Shuttle-Cock'd*, then *This Argument*; the *Plot* it self was not more *Belov'd*; nor the *Story* of it more *Ridiculous*: Nay, *This very Practice* is a *Branch* of it. And what's my *Crime* at last? (taking it at the very Worst of their Own Construction) but the *Hunting*, and *Discovering* of a Pack of *Forsworn Miscreants*, and laying Open the *Confederacy*, betwixt the *Mercenary Brutes*, and their more *Execrable Masters*? Which I have done, with the *Conscience* of a *Christian*, a *Subject*, a *Church-of-England-man*, and a *Lover of Justice*. I never lik'd the *Hobby-Horsing* Processions of *Godfrey's Funeral*, and the *Burning* of the *Pope*. And it is but *Natural* for *Those* that were up to the *Ears* in the *Plot*, when I was *Tooth and Nail* against it, to *Hate Me*, for *Presuming* to be in the *Right*, when they were in the *Wrong*. But to come now at last, to a *Close*, upon *This Question*; the *short English* of the *Device*, was, to make as *Arrant*, a *Juggling*, *Sacramenting* *Rascal* of me, (Saying the *Then Kings Evidences*) as ever *Renounc'd* *God* upon the *Holy Altar*. They did not only *Propagate* my *Shame* by *Word of Mouth*, *Hand* it from One to Another; (Well-nigh the *Only Tradition* that they would *Allow* of) and *Spread* it abroad, in their *Misfires*, and *Intelligences*, where they were sure it could not be *Contradicted*; but they *Clubb'd*, I know not how many of 'em, to the *Libelling* of me in *Print*. Inasmuch, that I was forc'd to *Complain* to their *Right Reverend Diocesan*, of the *Hard Usage*, in a *Pamphlet* call'd, [The *Objections* *Defenc'd*:] Where I set forth the *Naked Truth* of the *Business*; and after the *Exposing* of the *Sham*, I heard no more on't.

See Obl. 10. 32. 33. 39.  
42. 44. Vol. 3.

Now for *Four Passes*, *Gentlemen*, that were not so much as in *Being* when *These Ceremonies Pass'd*; what *Opinion* would You have *Entertain'd* of *This Abominable Observer*, without *These Papers* to *Enform* your *Judgments*, and to keep you *Upright* in the *Ways* of *Honour*, *Charity*, and *Justice*? What would you have *Thought* of a *Creature* that should have come down to you in *Thousands* of *Pamphlets*, *Mercuries*, *Pacquets*, *Domestiques*, &c. in the *Shape* of so many *several sorts* of *Rogue*? And all this, for the sake of an *Interest*, where the *Master* was *Painted* yet *Blacker* then the *Servant*.

Before I go any further, I must desire you to take *Notice* of the *Particular Date* of *This Preface*; and to *Compute*, upon the *Present Face* of *Things*, as well as upon the *Whole Antecedent Matter*: Who were the *True Friends* to the *Church of England*; the *Plaintiffs*, or the *Defendants*; and whether I do not *Rise*, the very same *Man*, in *April*, 1687. that I *Sat* down, in *April*, 1681? I am *No Prophet*, nor the *Son* of a *Prophet*; but I do not know any *One Accident* of *State*, that I have either *Mis-judge'd*, or *Mis-represented*, in all *These Papers*: And I do persuade my self, that I was never more, in the *Right*, then in the *Judgment* I made, and the *Measures* I took, upon *This Last Revolution*; for the *Point* is *Clear*, even to the degree of a *Demonstration*; and that the *Two things* that I mainly *Study'd*, and *Endeavour'd* to *Prevent*, and *Avoid*, are *Done*, on the *One Hand*, and *fall'n* upon us, on the *Other*. That is to say; an *Unruly Zeal* has brought us to the *Sight* of our *Error*; and the man is *Blind*, that does not, by this *Time*, *Reade* his *Mistake* in his *Punishment*. Without any more ado, *Hinc Illa Lacryma*: But it is *My Fortune* still, to bear the *Burden* of *Other Peoples Faults*, while *They*, (if I may set the *Truth*, against the *Vanity*) *Reap* the *Fruit*, and the *Credit* of *My Services*. How have I been *Loaden* with *Reproaches* of being *Popishly-Affected*, for *Advising* the *Surest*, the *fairest*, and the most *Christian way* of doing *Right*, *Honour*, and *Justice*, to the *Church of England*; while *Those very People*, set-up for the *Pillars* of the *Protestant Religion*, whose *Hearts*, and *Intemperances* have the most *Endanger'd* it! I *Write*, and *Speak* my *Mind*, with the same *Singleness* of *Meaning*, and *Simplicity* of *Thought*, at *This Day* that *Ever* I did; and I do not find, in the *Change* of my *Master*, any *Change* in the *Tye* of my *Allegiance*. I reckon my self *Bound*, by the *Laws* of *God*, and in *Common Decency*, *Prudence*, and *Duty*, to *Preserve* a *Right Understanding* betwixt my *Religion*, and *matter* of *Civil Obedience*, and *Respect*. The *Divine* does not *Discharge* the *Subject*; neither does *Christianity* pretend to *Cross* the *Measures*, to *Trouble* the *Peace*, or to *Turward* the *Order* of *Government*. The *Frame* of a *Political Body*, is as *Nice*, and *Delicate*, as *That* of a *piece* of *Clock-Work*: It will hardly *Endure*, so much as *Breathing* upon; It must be kept, *Clean*, as well as *Whole*; and from *Dust*, or *Cankering*, as well as from *Falls*, and *Bruises*: For *Scandal* is a *Sin* towards *Reputation*; and the *Blackening* of a *Prince* in his *Reputation*, is next door to *Drawing Blood* of him. A man can hardly make *Subjects*, *Think amiss* of their *Sovereign*, without *Disposing* them to *Undesirful Actions* too; and there are *Ways* of *Calumniating*, so *Artificial*, and so *Effectual*, that the *Greatest Mischief* in the *World*, seems to be *done*. Many times, for *Cal. 10.* and the *Providence* to be *Follow'd*, by *Scrutiny*, and by *Conscience*. *Common Sense* will not bear the *Supposition* of being told that there are none but *Knaves*, and *Fools* of *short Opinion*; But yet, at the same *Time*, there will be no *Reason* taken, it seems *Supporting* their *Own Sense* of *Things*, without *Reason* upon *any* *Substance*. The *Question* is, whether *True* in the *Right*, not whether *untrue* in the *Wrong*, or *No*, and as the *Part* of a *State* *Man*, to keep himself within his *Own Provinces*. 'Tis so far from *Murmuring*, *Rebelling*, *Contumacious*, or *Disobedient*, for *Men* that set-up for the *Reputation* of a *Prudent Zeal*, and *Pride*, to be *in* *Clashing* out, (upon the *Comparison*) *Lord!* we are not *in* *any* *Business* *without* *Reason*, and *Justice*, that our *Sovereign*, in the *Capacity* of the *Phœnix*, has *Expressly* *forbore*, for our *Instruction*, his *intermittent* *Appearance* of those *Boasting Services*, & *Unkempt* *Programe*. *My* *True* *Eye*, & *True* *Heart*, he *Cry*: and *Lord!* I am *not* *as* *other* *men* *are*, nor *even* *as* *the* *Plains* *Why* *he* *is* *kind* *of* *Instruction*, *without* *either* *Grace*, *Faith*, or *Good Manners*; and *if* *any* *Princes*, *Admire*, upon the *Rumor* of *Boasting* *Woe*. But (as I was a *Saying*) can it be *imagined*, that a *Prince* will bear *True* from a *Subject*, that *One Private Man* will not *Endure* from *Another*?  
(continued)



There's no Libell so Bitter, so Moving, so Provoking, and so Contemning, withall, as the Wounding of a King, by a Figure. The Addressees of some of his Late Majesties Parliaments, were Master-pieces that way. Now the thing that I Labour'd, upon the Last Great Change of States, both by Reasoning, Industry, and the most Pressing Application of Councils, and Interest, was the doing of All that was Possible, to make the People Think Well of the Church of England, without Lashing-out against the Church of Rome: Especially, upon Those Capital Points, that are commonly made use of, to Transpose the Multitude, beyond all Terms of Honesty, Moderation, and Patience; Such as Idolatry, for the purpose; where Every Cobler shall bring ye so many Texts against Idols; Put-in for a Reformer, and make himself Judge of the Controversy. Now upon the Truth of the Matter; the Managing of a Religion, is, in this Case, a Political Point, as it Influences the Affections of the Common People, with a Regard to the Honour of the Prince; the Peace, & the Well-being of the State. Hard Words, upon the Articles of the Sovereigns Persuasion, cannot but Glance Hard Thoughts, upon his Person; And there can scarcely be a Scorn, or an Odium Reflected upon the One, that does not Reach the Other: and, Consequently, Expose the Publique to a very Great Risque, without doing any manner of Good: Beside, that it is no longer Religion, (as I have Touch'd upon't already) but a Spice of Faction to Irritate, and Whip-up the Mobile, into a Violent Aversion for any thing that they do not Understand. 'Tis a Dangerous Practice, to make them the Judges in the Point: For they'l be taking the Same Liberty with Arbitrary Power, that they do with Popery; and make themselves Arbitrators, in matters, as well of State, as of Religion; and All, upon the License, and Encouragement, of Intermeddling in things of Government, which they have no Skill in.

The Lesson, and the Advice of Alaham to Heli, in a Tragedy of the Lord Brooke, falls Extremely Pat to This Purpose, and I cannot Close-up the Topique, Better, then with a Passage in't, that I have now in my hand. Alaham was upon a Design to Overturn the State; He gives Heli his Instructions what to do toward it; and the World could not have thought of a Surer, or a Readier Way for the Compassing of his End. The Discourse follows.

Tragedy of Alaham. Misfortune Pie'd, grows more Unfortunate,

Alaham. And Parents Laws must Yield to Laws of State.

12.13.

Heli. Then see the Means: For though the End were Good,

but for a Private man to Change a State;

With Monarchs Sleights to Alter Monarchy,

Seems Hard, if not Impossible to mee.

Alaham. Impossible, is but the Faith of Fear;

To make Hope Easy, fetch Belief elsewhere.

Yes! These Sparks, rak'd-up in Hollow Hearts,

Should Spread, and Burn, before their Fery show.

Keep on the Course which you have us'd to go,

Preach you with Flety Tongue, Distinguish Might,

Tyrants from Kings; Dusses in Question bring

Twixt God and Man; where Power INFINITE

Compar'd, makes FINITE Power a Scornfull Thing.

Safely so, Craft may with the Truth give Light,

To Judge of Crowns, without Enamelling,

And bring Contempt upon the Monarchs State,

Where Sitteth Unhallow'd Power in Peoples Hate,

Glance at Prerogatives Indefinite,

Tax Customs, Warrs, and Laws all Governing,

Censure Kings Faults, their Spies, and Favourites,

Holynefs has a Privilege to Sing

When he nor Wife, Bitternefs from Zeal of Spirit

Is hardly judg'd; the Envy of a King

Will People LIKE Reproof of Ministry.

Where GOD seems GREAT, is PRIESTS AUDACITY.

To him that

It will become me in this Place, so Distinguish upon the Matter in hand, before I quit the Subject. It is

not my Intention to Confound the Fronts of Reason, with the Inconstancy, and Chance, of it; or

to involve the Reason, with the Inconstancy, and Chance, of it; or

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to involve the Reason, with the Inconstancy, and Chance, of it; or

to involve the Reason, with the Inconstancy, and Chance, of it; or

Imagines;)



Imagines; ) but this [Heat] lays hold of 'em. And here are *Four Ways* now, of Springing a Conflagration, [Curiosity] is No Excuse for the First; nor [Wantonness] for the Second; Nor [Negligence,] for the Third; Nor [had I thought it,] for the Fourth; but the Ignorance, (Especially with a Good Meaning) is More Pardonable, than the Neglect; the Neglect, then the Wantonness; and the Wantonness of a Child, may be Better Borne with, than the Curiosity here Suppos'd. But all this while, however, These Several Causes, and Occasions of Disaster, may Differ, in the Measure, and Degree, of the Wickedness, or of the Transgression; they are All Equall yet, as to the Final Burning of the Town: Though the Damnable Heretick Popish Iniquity, and Malice of Hubberts Long Pole in Pudding-Lane, (as the Romance has it) Surpasses them All. The Two Cases in hand, are much alike; See the Commons Votes of Jan. 10. 1680. Only the One lays but the Metropolis in Ashes, the Other, the Three Kingdoms: and Men are Answerable Both ways, for Cause, and Consideration, as Two Essential Ingredients, into All Offices of Honour, and Duty. That which the Papists were to do, in the Fiction; the Republicans did, in very deed, and Earnest. And (to keep to my Point) make use of the Weak, the Careless, the Curious, the Humour some, (and let me Add) the Popular, the Zealous, the Fearfull, and the Covetous, toward the Effecting of the Main Work: So that it is in This, as it has been in All Other Conspiracies; for One Man; that there is of a Falsious, Spitefull, Canker'd Animosity and Venome, against the Government, there Are, and Have been, I make no doubt on't, some Hundreds, that have been either Wounded, or Menac'd, or Corrupted, or Seduced, or Deluded, into the Common Cause of Apostacy, and Disobedience. And when they come once to be Hamper'd, in Leagues, Covenants, Engagements, and Associations, there are but too many of them, that will rather Venture to be Damn'd, for Staying with 'em, then to be Hung'd, for Leaving them, and there they lye, Snugg, 'till they are drawn out of the Mud, by the Teeth, like Griggs, E're they'l Quit their Hold. The Result, in fine, is but This; they do all the Hurt in the World, without Meaning it, and without looking Before 'em, into the Probable Consequences, and the Reasonable Issue, and Tendency of Things. But the Motion of Political, is as Regular, as That of Natural Bodies; and Kingdoms, and States, have their Revolutions, and Courses, no less then Seasons.

A man may as well look into the Air, and Doubt whether the Sun Shines, as look about him in the World, and Doubt whether there be a Republican Spirit at Work; and whether it proceeds, by the Same Methods, at Present, that have been made use of in All Former Times. That is to say; by setting False, or Daz'ling Colours before Weak Eyes; By laying Grievances before the Rash, and Cholerique; Dangers, and Matter of Fears, and Jealousies, before the Timorous; Spiritual Shams, before the Scrupulous; Scandalous Stories before the Credulous; Setting the Bold, and Daring, a-fire, with Insinuations of Indignity, and Provocation; Plying Male-Contents, with Artificial Stimulations toward Revenge; Improving the Heats of a Mistaken Zeal, into the Contempt of Civil Order, and Government. In fine; All Passions; All Humours; All Weaknesses; All Errors, are made Subsistent to All Confederacies of Practices against the State.

Upon These Motives, and Inducements, it was, (as I have Hinted before) that, upon the coming of his Present Majesty to the Crown, I did so much Press, and Inculcate Care, Tenderness, Charitable Good Will; a Christian, and Political Agreement, betwixt the Common Subjects of the Same Sovereign, and the Members of Both Churches. I did not know how far, the Craft, the Industry, and the Application of One sort of People, might Prevail over the Easyness, Carelessness, and the Simplicity of Another; there being so many Difficulties, too, & Niceties, at That Time, in the way, as might very well Puzzle a man, how to Govern himself; whether as a Good Christian, a Loyal Subject, a Friend to his Country, and Religion: with a Just Regard to his Quality, Post, and Station, and to the Offices of an Honest Man. I was not Mistaken, I perceive, in my Apprehensions, and whosoever will but look back over his Shoulder, cannot chuse but find it so: But God forbid, all this while, that any man should be Blam'd for being Short-Sighted; Or that humane Frailty in the Case of any Mistake, should be render'd a Capital Sin. There are Scandals Given and there are Scandals Taken; And, as we have had but Too many Unnecessarily Hot-Spurs of the Former, so we have had some very Worthy Persons of the Latter sort, that have been Mis-represented to the World: And I lay the Sense of This Charge, only upon the Fierce, the Obstinate, the Consummation; and Those that have Offended out of Malicious Maliciousness.

In the making of Me a Papist, my Adversaries have done me an Honour, to Range me (how Libellously soever they Intended it) under the Persuasion of my Royal Master: But with This Honour, they have done me No Right yet; because, in Truth, I am a Son of the Establish'd Church of England; Which they wish I were Not; and they are as Heartily Sotry, that I Am: For if I were, Really, of the Roman Communion; I should be a very Perjurd Villain, for Swearing, with so much Solemnity, to the Contrary: Which would make My Testimony of as little Credit against Ours, as I have made his appear to be, against the Roman Catholics. May, if by their Forgeries, they could but have made a Papist of me, to the Advantage, they had been doing; and All my Discoveries of their Treasonous, and Seditious Plots, and Conjurations, would have been so much Breath-thrown into the Air; and Three or Four Thousand Rhenish Paper Condemn'd to the Necessary House. No No! True-Protestant-Ours, and Bed-lor-worshipers, and Gun-powder, against any Popish Sinner Bullets, or Daggers: And their Knights of the Post; Their Sham-Plots; Their White-Horse-Confutes; Their Somerset-House-Adventures; were True-Protestant Regarders, that could only be Blown-up, and Confounded, by a Church-Protestant Hand. In fine; If they could but have made out the Proofs of the Plot, half so well, as I have made out, the Reasons why they would have Me to be a Papist, they might have gone on, (for ought I know) in a comfortable way, of Drowning, Hanging, and Quartering, in Secula Seculorum.

Since the Finishing of the foregoing story above, and with the Pen yet in my Hand, come a Gentleman

to me with a *Fresh Piece of Intelligence*; which is, that I have taken *Pet* at the *Toleration*, and thrown-up my *Observer* because Things would not Work *My Way*; and that I have lost *All my Friends* at *Conrs* upon't. Now the *Malice* of this *Suggestion*, is well enough *Apply'd*, but the *Story*, *Groundless*, and the very *Pinch* of the *Case*, *Monstrously Mistaken*: For my *Discourses* upon *Toleration*, have not been made a *Question* of *Religion*, but of *Government*; and the *Main Point* in *Debate*, has been *This*; Whether *Liberty* of *Conscience*, be a *Challenge* in the *Right* of the *People*, or an *Act of Grace*, and *Indulgence*, issuing from the *Prerogative* of the *Supreme Magistrate*? My *Conclusion* runs throughout in favour of the *Latter*; and bears an *Exact Conformity* to the *Present Resolutions* of *State*. As for Example.

Obs. Num. 38. Vol. 3. [All Indulgences, In, or About *Externals* in *Religious Matters*, (*Saving* in *Cases* of *Stipulation*, *Laws*, *Promises*, and the like) are *Meerly Gratuitous*, and *Wholly Dependent* upon the *Grace*, *Will*, and *Pleasure*, of the *Civil Magistrate*.] And once again now.

[This does not yet *Hinder* the *Right* of the *Civil Magistrate*, to *Interpose* in such *Indulgences*, as may *Stand with* the *Peace* and *Safety* of his *Dominions*: *Nay*, and I am *Persuaded*, that over and above the *Natural Softnesses* of *Generosity*, and *Good Nature*, there are other *Inducements* to it, that are yet *Stronger*, and *Founded* upon *Principles* of *Piety*, *Religion* it self, *Civil Prudence*, and *Honourable Justice*. But where the *Subject Challenges* Those *Graces* and *Dispensations*, as of *Right* belonging to the *People*, they are not *Worthy* of them: *Neither*, *Effectually*, have they any *Title* to them. For when they come to *Struggle* once, for That as a *Dut*, which is only a *Grace*; 'tis no longer a *Question* of *Conscience*, but a *Competition* for *Power*: And a *Prince* cannot *Grant* any *Indulgence* upon those *Terms*, without *Spurning* his *Prerogative*; and the *Cession* of an *Incommunicable Privilege* of his *Crown*.]

This is the *Doctrine* that runs thorough *All my Writings* upon *This Argument*, and they are *Open* for any man to *Examine*, and, if he *Can*, to *Disprove* what I say; Though 'tis a little *Hard*, methinks, for one to be put to *Vindications*, and *Defences* thus, *In Season*, and *out of Season*; and 'tis not *Cherry man's* *Body* neither, that will *Endure* the *Stripping*, and a *Reading* upon't, in the *Market-place*.

But after *All This Warmth*, now, let me go-off like a *Christian*. I *Forgive* the *Whole World*, *All the Willfull, Deliberate, and Malicious Lyes* that any of the *Wicked Part* of it have told of me; with all their *Scurrilities*, and *Inferiour Slanders*, over and above: But I cannot so easily *Forget* them; and I *Phan- sy*, I shall hardly ever *Trust* 'em. I have not the least *Unkind Impression*, for those that have *Reported* the *Ill Things* they have *Heard* of me, without *Knowing* me; And for the *Rest*, So help me *God*, as I have *No Thought* or *Wish* of *Revenge*, in the *Hearts* of me.

I have drawn out *This Preface*, to a *Length*, much beyond the *Measure* that I *Propos'd* to my self; And since I am *Dipt* thus far, in the *Merits* of the *Main Case*, I'll throw out my *Hand*; and *Contrast* into *This Preamble*, the *Substance*, and *Marrow* of what I had *Design'd* for a larger *Discourse*.

We have had several *Effays*, by *Snaps* here and there, (as the *Author* pleas'd) upon *Divers Walks* of the *Flor*; but little has been done, as yet, to the framing of a *Just*, and *Formal History* of it, or to the laying of the *Axe* to the *Root*. There are in the *Three Parts* of *These Observators*, more *Remarks* upon the *Train*, the *Conduct* and the *Dependences*; with the *Characters* of the *Witnesses* and of the *Patrons* of it; then are, perhaps to be found any where else: As in the *Contradictions*, of

(a) See *Otes* es *Veracities*.  
Num. 60. 61. 62. 72. Vol. 2.

(b) 140. 141. 142. 180.  
Vol. 2.

(a) *Ques* upon the *Main Plot*; and so of (b) *France*, *Bedloe*, &c. about the *Murder* of *Sir Edmund-Bury-Godfrey*. But there was so much *Picking Work* in the *Cases*, so much *Puzzle*, in the *Comparing* of *Evidences*, *Times*, *Places*, and *Persons*; such a *Latitude* left, for *Exception*, *Distinction*, *Evasion*, *Partiality* of *Comment*, and *Interpretation*: So much *Allowance*, for *Pretexts* of *Surprises*, *Slips* of *Memory*, &c. and upon the *Whole*, so strong a *Prepossession*, in *Favour* of the *Plot*, and *Against* any man that should presume to *Thwart* it, that *People* were *Believ'd* without *Opening* their *Mouths*, and *Taught* their *Lessons* before-hand, for fear they should be *Out* in their *Enquiries*. They had their *Rolls*, and *Private Practices* by *Themselves*, before ever they came to *Play* their *Parts*, in *Publick*, for *Good* and *All*. So that upon the *Whole*, *Truth* was as good as *Gone*, and the *Plot* *Insur'd*; and a *Conscientious Evidenc*, against an *Affidavit-man*, was in much more danger of a *Gibber*, (then the *Other* of a *Pillory*; for there need'd no more then a *Good Round Oath*, and a *Trusty Friend*, fortify'd with the *Unaccountable Inferences* of an *Ambulatory Committee*, to do any *Honest mans Business*: and *Quib*, by *This time*, were *Grown* as *Cheap* as *Striking Match*. The *Imposture* was *Christen'd*, a *Narrative* of a *Discovery*; and the *Impostors* *Themselves* (according to a *True-Prosperous Heraldry*); water'd by *Publick* *Saviours* of the *Nation*: A man could not say *Black* was *Ours* an *Eye*, but he was made an *Equal* of the *King's* *Goldchen*. A *Ridicule* of the *Damnable*, *English*, *Popish Conspiracy*; His *Mouth* *Stopt* with *Kiss*, and *Proclamations*; and in *Danger* of a *Conspiracy* *Arraigning* *Four Parliaments*, and the *Wisdom* of the *Nation* in *few words*; Such was the *Art*, and the *Power* of the *Plot*, and such the *Tyranny* of *That Accusation*, that there is no *Perfect Memorial* to be *Expected* of *These Things*; and whoever should take upon him to *Get* *up*, and put together, the very *Imperfections*, and *Fragsments* of *That History*, would find *Work* enough for an *Age*. And *Matter* enough, for the *Bulk* of the *Book* of *Martyrs*, *Sixteen* times over. Beside the *Squabbles* that would arise upon the *Varia* *Assertions*, and the *Impossibility* of *Respecting* *Several Doctors Opinions*, for want of *Authentic Papers*, and *Instruments*, to *Proceed* by. But though the *Middle* *Creature* in *Moer-Fields*, would not *Venture* upon the *Tracing* of *Particulars*, thorough all the *Turns*, and *Windings* of *That Diabolical Maze*, or so much as *Sketch* of *Disposing* the *Impossibilities* and *Confusions* of *That Story* into any *Presence* of *Connexion*, or *Form*: it may nevertheless very well stand with the *Reputation*, as well as the *Du-*



ty of a Sober Man, not to let the ~~Whole~~ Truth be Lost, for want of here and there an Original; Provided, that it may come (so much as is on't) Pure, and Untainted to Posterity, and Carry an Authority in the Face on't, not to be Controll'd.

Now as ~~this~~ Plot, partly in the Sham, partly in the Operation of it; and Partly again, in the Occasions Administer'd by it, has furnish'd Matter for a Course of Almost Six Years Papers; I cannot do better, then to Tack the History, to the Reflexions: Especially, when the One will be found so Needfull to the Expounding of the Other; and the Truth laid as Clear, and Certain, as if it had been Pointed-out by a Beam of the Sun. I Draw All my Water, from the Fountain; And not One Drop that is not Neat, Natural, and Sincere; and that will not abide the Uttermost Test. That is to say; I have, for my Authorities; The Notes of Several Parliaments; Printed by Order; and Publish'd with an Express Design to Enform the World of the very Matters which I am now about to lay open. (a) [Printing our Votes (says one) will be for the Honour of the King, and the Safety of the Nation.] (b) If our Actions be Naught, let the World Judge of them; If they be Good, let them have their Virtue, &c. Therefore, I am for Printing, &c. (c) The Popish Party Dread Nothing more then Printing what you do. (d) This Printing, &c. is like Plain Englishmen, who are not Asham'd of what they do. ] Now, over and above the Main Chance, in a Compliance with Authority, and Order; I have likewise upon the Publishing of These Papers, taken This Thought into my Care; That whereas, there are many People that would be Glad, and Willing enough to be Enform'd in this Intrigue, if it might be done without the Incumbrance of buying a Heavy Book for the sake of a Preface: Therefore, I have so far Consulted the Readers Ease, as to Order the Printing of it, apart, in a Less Volume, to the End, that it may serve to Both Purposes: But for Distinction sake, I shall give it a Title by itself however, that People may not Confound that which is properly, Preface, with the Following History.

(a) Oxford Debates. Fol. 1.

(b) Ibid. Fol. 2.

(c) Ibid.

(d) Ibid.

A Brief

# HISTORY

## OF THE

# TIMES.

From Dr. Otes'es taking his Degree at Salamanca,  
to the Bearing of his Testimony at a Courts-  
Arse, from Newgate to Tyburn.

THE Devil is never so Dangerous, as when he Presents himself in the Shape of an Angel of Light; and there's nothing so Diabolical, as a Religious Wickedness: When a man Blasphemes the Holy Gospel, by Kissing the Book; and Defies, and Renounces God, in the very Act of Appealing to him. This was the Case, of the Witnesses, and the Plot; which Plot, was, in Effect, such a sort of Miracle Impos'd upon the People, as the Serpent; that the Magicians would have Sham'd upon Aaron: But Truth, in the End, Devour'd the Imposture. It was, in short, a kind of Perverse Creation, Made, out of Nothing, and without any Pre-existence of Matter to Work upon: Only a Parliamentary Fiar, at last, brought it out of the Abyss.

[Resolved, Nemine Contradicente, That upon the Evidence that has already appear'd to This House, This House is of Opinion that there is, and hath been a Damnable, and Hellish Plot, Contrived and Carry'd on by Popish Recusants, for Assassinating and Murdering the King, for Subverting the Government, and Rooting-out, and Destroying the Protestant Religion.]

Commons Journal, Oct. 31. 1687.

A Plot Noted.

This was no more then to say, That Otes, Beiloe, and Tonge Made the Plot, and the House of Commons found it; and they could not well do Less, at That Time of the Day, Considering the Positive Oaths of so many Profligate Villains, and the Constitution of That Loyal Parliament, who thought they could never sufficiently Abominate, or Revenge themselves on the Papists, for so Unnatural; and Ungrateful a Conspiracy against their Prince, and their Religion. Beside, that the Noise of Godfrey's Murder; the Ferreting of the Monks in the Savoy; Langhorn, Whitebread, Mico, Coleman, and the Lords knows how many more, to be Seiz'd; Papists Banish'd, and Disabled from Sitting in Parliament; the Raising of the Militia, &c. This Hurry, put People out of their Wits; and Consequently, there was no Place left for Fair Reasoning in the Sober Way of a Cold, and Temperate Debate.

Now he that shall Stumble upon These Papers Five Hundred Year hence, and have a mind to be Peeping into the History of a Villany, (so many Ages before him) shall never need to Consult the Records, either



of Salamanca, or St Omers, for the *Mystery*, the *Design*, or the *Issue* of it; Nor to look any farther, then to the *Two First Parts* of These *Observations*, for his ample Satisfaction: And so without spending any more *Time*, and *Paper*, upon *Preliminaries*, I shall Hasten to what I am to say upon *This Subject*; without laying any Stress at all, upon the *Authenticity* of *Hearsays*, and *Conjectures*; without taking any thing upon *Trust*, or *Delivering* any *Other Truths* over to *Posterity*, then what I have receiv'd in *Form*, from the very *Lips* of the *Orator* it self.

According to Order. [I Appoint John-a-Nokes, and John-a-Styles to Print These Votes, Perused and Sign'd by me, according to the Order of the House of Commons, and that no other Person Presume to Print them.] ET CÆTERA.

**T**HE HISTORY of the Plot. **I**N Sept. 1678. *Otes & Tong*, Together, made a Composition of a Damnable, Hellish Story; that they call'd the *Popish Plot*. And, such as it was, it was Sworn before Sir E. B. G. and Presented, with Wonderful Formalities of Zeal & Caution, to his Late Majesty Himself. There were Jesuits Letters, forsooth, to be Seiz'd at the Post-House, to Patch up the Credit of a Broken Bus'ness. I have, at This Instant, the Originals by me; Five in All, and at least Three of the Five, most Undeniably the Hand-Writing of *Otes*, and *Tong*, Themselves. Briefly; the Story was Manifestly Pointed at his Royal Highness, and thorough Him at the King, his Brother; and thorough his Late Majesty, at Monarchy it self, as will be made Clearer then the Day, in the Sequel of this Discourse. The Falsion, that was Resolv'd to make the Most on't, and to Emprove the Imposture, wrought such Hawock, for a Month, or Six Weeks upon't, with Frighful Stories, Continual Alarums; Fresh and Fresh Discoveries, and Enformations; that a Great many Wise, Good, and Sober Men were Startled at it; and the Common People, as Mellow as Tinder, to take Fire at the least Spark. At the Opening of the Following Parliament, of October 21. 1678. His Majesty had This Passage in his Speech. [I now intend to Acquaint you, (as I shall always do with any thing that Concerns me) that I have been Enformed of a Design against my Person by the Jesuits; of which, I shall forbear any Opinion, lest I should say too Much, or too Little; but I will leave the Matter to the Law.] The Commons fell presently to work, upon the Plot-Papers; the Further and Further Enformations, of *Titus Otes*; (That Inexhaustible Fountain of Invention, and Slander.) Sir Edmundbury-Godfrey's Matters; Priest-Hunting, and Impeaching. And Then came-on the Humour of Seizing Candle-Gups, for Altar-Plate; Medals, and Guineys, for Popish-Trinkets; the Burning of our Blessed Saviour, in Effigie; Playing the Merry-Andrews, and Buffoons, in Priests-Habits; Making Sport with Holy Orders, and Holy Things: Till in the Conclusion, for fear of Popery, they ran a-Muck (as they call it) at Christianity it self, and bore down Every thing that stood in their Way, betwixt This and Hell. There was no Place left for Moderation, Sobriety, or Counsel; Truth, Justice, Humanity, Honour, and Good Nature, were all Popishly-Affected, and never such a Competition, betwixt Divine Providence, on the One hand, and the World, the Flesh, and the Devil, on the Other; for the Preserving, or the Destroying of a Nation.

The History of the Interval, betwixt *Otes's* Damnable Discovery, and (if the Conceit be not too Trivial) the Discovery of Damnable Ques, has been the Entertainment of all Peoples Tongues, and Thoughts; & the Amazement of Christendome, no less then the Horror of All Good Men: To see the Foundations of Three Kingdoms, Shaken with the Breath of Four or Five Prostitute, Mean, and Sigmatis'd Vixens: An Imperial Monarchy, well-nigh Sink into a Common-Wealth, upon the Credits of Notorious Impostors, and Common Cheats: An Apostolical Church, in danger to be Over-run'd, in the Name of God, and for the sake of Religion, by the same Instruments: Jails, and Dungeons, fill'd with Men of Honour, Faith, and Integrity, upon the Testimony of Pillory'd Pick-Pockets, and of the Sink of Mankind: The Hair Apparent to the Crown, in a fair way too, to be Disinherited, at the Instance of Felons, and Renegades: Perjury, and Subornation, Triumphant; and Nothing so Sacred; either in Heaven, or upon Earth; as to be Secure from the Outrages of the Rabble. The Falsion in short, had got a Head, and there was No Resisting the Torrent. Now the Fact was Agreed upon at All Hands; but as to the Rise, the Occasion, and the Danger of these Distempers, People were Divided; Some would have it to be a Popish Plot upon the Kings Person, and Government, and the Protestant Religion; Others would have it to be a Republican Plot against All Three, under Another Name, but with the self same Design: That is to say, of Killing the King; Changing the Government; Dissolving the Church; and, rather then fail, their Ends to be Compass'd by Fires, and Massacres; as was Expressly Ow'd by divers of the Common-Wealth-Conspirators that were brought to Justice, Some in 1680. and Other in 1681. Certain it is, that the Cover of the Four Evangelists never had Fuller Lips laid to it, (the Merits of the Cause apart) then Those of the Kings Witnesses, upon This Occasion: And it fell out too, huge Unluckily for Alike Purpose, that the People that were to be Massacred, should break out into so many Rebellions, for fear of having their Throats Cut; while the People that they Swore were to Cut their Throats, were either Confin'd in Prisons, or Gibbered up and down the Kingdom, like so many Kermin in a Coney-Martin, without making any One Attempt, either upon the Person of his Majesty, or upon the Peace of his Dominions: Nay, and (to give them their Due) without so much as Muttering against the Government, under All This Rigour. The Cause is now coming to an Issue; and the Articles of the Charge (which I shalldiscuss) the very Same on Both sides; as Perjury, Subornation, Picking of Witnesses, and Juries: Only for Pickering, read Rumbold; for Popish, read True-Protestant; And so in like manner, where the Same Reason holds in Other Cases.

The Theme that I am now upon, is so Copious; It has so many Incidents that Necessarily fall into the Story; the Matter is of so Great a Consequence to be Clear'd, & there is so Great a Variety of Previous, and Leading Circumstances, in the Nature of Probabilities, that require a Place in the Preamble to This Narrative; that the Prologue to my Business has been a great deal longer then I intended: But I shall now Hasten to an Impartial Account upon the Two Plots in Question. As

AS to the Proof, or Testimony of a Popish Plot, we have the Credit of Witnesses Innumerable, (such as they are) both English, and Irish: But the Foundation of the Whole Fabric, is Oates's Confession at the White-House in the Strand; And All the Rest has been, but a Superfarration upon That Original. It has been Sworn to be a Plot; Judg'd to be a Plot; I know not how many Priests, Jesuits, & Others have Dy'd for't as a Plot: But, in fine, such a Plot it was, as no body ever yet saw Any thing Of it, or any thing Like it, but with Oates's Eyes; which, in the Business of Don John, Mr Coleman, and Several Other Instances, have been found not to be Infallible. So that upon the Main, Oates's Plot is the Ground-Work of the Whole; And if That Fail, All Fail: which may nevertheless Be, and No Affront to the Believers of it: For an Oath may be Good in Law, and yet Carry a man to the Devil upon the Point of Conscience.

NOW as to the Project Commonly call'd, Oates's Plot, if a man may Speak Truth, and Shame the Devil, it was not the Doctors Alone; but a kind of a Club betwixt Titus Oates, and Execr Tongue; as I have it under the Hand of Young Tonge Himself; and upon Other very Good Authorities beside. As for the Purpose.

[The Petitioner doth Protest, in the Presence of Almighty God; that it is very True, that the Plot was Contrived by my Father, and Titus Oates, when he returned the Second Time beyond the Seas.] Subscribed Simpson Tonge; The Petition; to His Late Majesty; and the Original, I have in My Own Hand: As likewise of these Instances that follow.

[Under the Pretence of a Popish Plot, (which my Father first Imagin'd was a-foot, and after wards Oates at his Second Return, Swore to be True) Their Main and Principal Design was to Disinheris his Royal Highness, The first Persons that Manag'd the Plot, and were Privy to it, were my Father, Oates, &c.] This was Address'd to myself, Dated from the Kings-Bench Jan. 5. 1681. and Sign'd Simpson Tonge, And once again yet.

When I came from the University, in the Year 77, I found Oates with my Father, in a very poor Condition, who complained he knew not what to do to get Bread; who went under the Name of Ambrose. My Father took him home, and gave him Cloaths, Lodging, and Dyer, saying he would put him into a way.

And then he perswaded him to get acquainted among the Papists; and when he had done so, then my Father told him, there had been many Plots in England to bring in Popery, and if he would go over among the Jesuits, and Observe their ways, it was possible it might be One now; and if he could make it out, it would be his Preference for ever. But however, if he could get their Names, and a little Acquaintance from the Papists, it would be an Easy matter to stir up the People to fear Popery. And again, My Father and He (Dr. Oates) went and Lodg'd at Fox-Hall, at One Lamberts, a Bell-Founder, (which House was call'd by the Neighbours the Plot-House; And there Oates's Narrative was Written; whereof several Copies were Written, very Different from the Other; and the Four Jesuits Letters (wherein Oates pretended was the whole Discovery) were Counterfeits, &c.

To the Instances above, I shall Add One More, for the Further Reputation of All the Rest; which is, That when Oates's Credit ran High, and the Faction as Bold as Ever, upon May the 15. 1682. I Publish'd This Following Advertisement: And it went down without either Check, or Controul.

If any Man, Woman, or Child, will be so Kind, and Generous, as out of an Affection to the Protestant Religion, and the Vindication of Dr. Oates; to call Simpson Tonge to a Legal Account; for Endeavouring to Destroy the Credit of the said Doctor, and his Evidence, by Scandalous Reflexions upon Both; Roger L'Elstrange does hereby offer Himself, out of a Zeal to the Publick Good; to Furnish Authentique Papers, and Memorials, toward the Prosecution of the Work.

THE Whole Party were as Mad as Fishes, after This Publication; which they would never have been, if they durst have put the Reputation of Oates's Evidence to the Test. To say Nothing of the Congruity, betwixt the Method and the Drift of their Open Proceedings in the Case, and the Scope of Tonge's Private Entimulations: For the Father, and Oates, Acted the Same Part before the Commons, which Young Tonge said they did betwixt Themselves, and the Moral Malice of the Cabal, struck at the Duke of York too, just according to the Report of His Papers. Inasmuch, that whilst His Royal Highness was Wounded for the Pretended Sake of the Roman-Catholiques; The Romanists Themselves were likewise to be Sacrific'd for the sake of the Duke of York; and Both for the Common Interest of the Change they Design'd.

After this Preparatory to a General Understanding of the Case here under Consideration; it will be Proper, and Needfull, to set forth what such a Plot is, before I come to a Resolution, that This Damnable, Bellying, Popish Thing of Oates's, was, in Truth, such a Plot: That is to say, a Plot upon the Life of the King; The Frame of the Government, and the Destruction of the Protestant Religion. And to This End, Parliamentary Oaths, will be as Good in Payment, I hope, as for Ball Parrotibers; and as Current in the Utterance of the Royal Family, as the Oath were to the Framing of it.

What's a Prince, I would fain know, without [MONEY;] without [POWER;] without [CREDIT;] without [FRIENDS?] And what are Those People that Endeavour to Robb, and to Strip their Sovereign of All These [Money;] [Power;] [Credit;] [Friends?]

What's a Prince without either [Money;] [Power;] [Credit;] [Friends?]

What's a Prince without either [Money;] [Power;] [Credit;] [Friends?]



**Execrable Ends?** If the Project of doing All This, may be call'd a Plot; If to Labour the Doing of it, be, to be In a Plot; And if I was upon the Wheel, and Actually a Doing, by Ores, and his Confederates, and Founded, upon His Counterfeit Plot too; And if I make All This Out, from Publique Acts, and Orders, as Credible as Records; the Duration, and the Reputation of This Wham, is at an End for Ever. And so I shall Proceed to the Four Heads above-mentioned, in Course, as they lye.

No [Money,]

(a) Nov. 19. 1678.

(b) Mar. 21. 1678.

(c) Nov. 4. 1680.

(d) Nov. 12. 1680.

**A**S to the Matter of [ *MONEY* ; ] How many Addresses were made by a Prevalent Majority of the House of Commons, for (a) [ *Reward to the Discoverers of Godfreys Murder* ; ] (b) [ *Five hundred Pound Reward to Bedloe* ; ] (c) [ *Dangerfield to be Pardoned, and Rewarded* ; ] And so for (d) [ *Turberville, Bourk, Sampson, Macknamarra, Eustace Commings, &c.* ] Beside the Horrible Charge of Perdition, for the Entertainment of Ores, Bedloe, Dugdale, and Forty more. But after all these Expenses; not a Penny, to be either Supply'd, by Bill, or so much as Borrow'd upon Anticipations; unless upon Terms Worse then Death; as by These following Votes will Appear.

[ *Resolved, That his Majesty in his Last Message; having Assured This House of his Readiness to Concurr in all other Means, for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion; This House doth Declare, that untill a Bill be likewise passed, for Excluding the Duke of York, this House cannot give any Supply to his Majesty, without Danger to his Majesties Person. Extreme Hazard of the Protestant Religion, and Unfaithfulness to Those by whom This House is Intrusted.* ]

[ *Resolved, That whosoever shall hereafter Lend, or Cause to be Lent, by way of Advance, any MONEY, upon the Branches of the Kings Revenue arising by Customs, Excise, or Hearth-Money, shall be Adjudged to hinder the Sitting of Parliaments, and shall be Responsible for the same in Parliament.* ]

[ *Resolved, That whosoever shall Accept, or Buy any Tally of Anticipation upon any Part of the Kings Revenue; or whosoever shall pay such Tally hereafter to be Struck, shall be Adjudged to hinder the Sitzings of Parliaments; and shall be Responsible therefore in Parliament.* ]

In the Address of Decem. 21. 1680. The Commons Insist upon the Excluding of the Duke of York, and an Act of Association; Or otherwise see what Follows.

Commons-Votes. [ *Without these Things, the Alliances of England will not be Valuable, nor the People Encourag'd to Contribute to your Majesties Service.* ]

From hence, it does abundantly Appear that his Late Majesty was Driven upon Expense, and Hindered of Supply, by All Acts, and Shifts Imaginable: and the Readiest way of finding to what End, All this was done, will be to look into the Grounds, and Reasons, of their so doing. (a) The Lords sent down a Vote to the House of Commons, for their Concurrence, Declaring that their Lordships were fully Satisfy'd that there was a Horrid, and a Treasonable Plot Carry'd-on, by the Papists in Ireland: Unto which Vote, the Commons Agreed with an Addition, in Manner Following.

(a) Com. Votes

Jan. 4. 1680.

This House does Agree with the Lords in the said Vote; with the Addition of These

Words; That the Duke of York, being a Papist, and the Expectation of his Coming to the Crown hath given the Greatest Countenance and Encouragement thereto, ( the Irish Plot that is ) as well as to the horrid Popish Plot, in This Kingdom of England.

[ *Resolved, That it is the Opinion of This House, that there is no Security or Safety for the Protestant Religion; the Kings Life, or the Well-Constituted and Established Government of This Kingdom, without Passing a Bill for Disabling James Duke of York to Inherit the Imperial Crown of England, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging; and to Rely upon any other Means and Remedies, without such a Bill, is not only Insufficient, but Dangerous.* ]

Here's the Horrid Popish English Plot made the Ground, for the Excluding of the Duke; and keeping the King short of Money; according to the Intent of the Votes of Jan. 7. 1680, above-mention'd. And That's made the Foundation likewise, for the Refusal, in the Address before-Cited, in the very Syllables of the said Address.

[ *That your Majesties Sacred Life is in Continual Danger, under the Prospect of a Popish Successor, is Evident, not only from the Principles of Those Devoted to the Church of Rome, but also from the Testimonies Given in the Prosecution of the Horrid Popish Plot, against Divers Traitors Attainted for Designing to put Those Accursed Principles into Practice against your Majesty.* ]

There needs no Subtlety, of Quirking, or Reasoning, upon this Case, of [ *MONEY* ; ] the Spire of it lying so Open, that Every Common Eye sees through it; and that the Terms the Republican Caball Treated upon, in some of those Parliaments, was no other, then a Tryal of Skill, to see if they could

bring his Late Majesty to a Composition for his Crown. For the King was to have No Money but in Composition for his Crown.

Money but upon Conditions of Disabling his Brother; ( and more yet, as I shall shew in Due Place ) Contrary to all the Tyes of Conscience, Gratitude, Justice, and Prudence: And All, for fear of [ *a Damnable Hellish Popish Plot* ; ] We shall see now how they

Dealt with his Majesty likewise, in the Matter of [ *Power* ; ]

The Power of a Prince. **T**HE Power of a Prince, Exerts it self in the Means of an Ample Revenue, to Answer all the Necessities of the Crown; to Pay his Troup, and to Reward Honourable Services: In the Privileges of Sovereign Authority; the Love, and the Reputation that he has in the Hearts of his People; In the Arms of his Militia; the Command of his Subjects; and the Cheerfull Obedience of his Friends.



*Friends.* They had already *Main'd*, and *Disabled* his Late Sacred Majesty, in the *First Great Point* of his *Rebener*. That which comes-on *Next*, is to see how they dealt with him in respect of his *Power*; of *Prerogative*, in *General*, and as to his *Forces*, both by *Land*, and by *Sea*, in *Particular*; and whether the whole Proceeding was not still *Grounded*, upon the *Damnable Bug-bear* of the *Popish Plot*. How they us'd him, upon the Matter of his *Credit*, and *Friends*, shall come-on in due Time. But to Proceed now, to an *Enquiry* how they *Handled* him upon the Subject of his *Prerogative*. First in the Case of the Earl of Danby.

**R**esolved, That an Humble Address be made to his Majesty, Representing to his Majesty the Irregularity, and Illegality, of the Pardon, mentioned by his Majesty to be Granted to the Earl of Danby, and the Dangerous Consequence of Granting Pardons to Any Persons that lye under an Impeachment of the Commons of England.]

Here's the Kings Power of Life and Death shaken at the very Root; and what's the Unpardonable Crime at last, but This among Others!

[That he is Popishly-Affected, and hath Trayterously Conceal'd, after he had Notice of, the Late Horrid Plot, or Conspiracy, Contrived by the Papists against his Majesties Person and Government, and hath Suppress'd the Evidence, and Reproachfully Discountenanced the Kings Witnesses in the Discovery of it, in favour of Popery, Immediately tending to the Destruction of the Kings Sacred Person, and Subversion of the Protestant Religion.]

There happen'd no Evil under the Sun in those Days, but the Late Horrid Plot, or somewhat Like it, had still a Finger in the Pye: But from *Pardoning* in my Lord Danby's Case, they proceeded afterward, to a Bolder Step in my Lord Staffords; and to make a *Moot-Point* of it, whether the King, by his *Prerogative* could so much as Remit any Part of the Sentence; but Sir W. J. gave his Opinion upon't, in Favour of the *Prerogative*, upon a very *Weighty Reason*. [This House (says he) lyeth not under any Obligation to Offer at any Opposition, nor Concern themselves herein, Especially at This Time, when such a Dispute may End, in Preventing of the Execution of the said Lord Stafford: And therefore I do humbly Conceive you may do well to give your Consent, that the said Writ be Executed according to its Tenor.]

The Short of the Business was This; Sentence of Death was pass'd, in Form, upon my Lord Stafford; and the Kings Writ to the Sheriffs, Commanded only his Head to be Sever'd from his Body. Bethel and Cornish, (the then Sheriffs of London and Middlesex) Apply'd themselves by *Petition*, to the Lords, to know whether they should Obey the Writ, or Not: The Lords found the Scruples Unnecessary, and Declar'd [That the Kings Writ ought to be Obey'd.] After this, to the Commons, Stating the Matter under These Four Following Quarries. (I speak upon the Credit of the Collection of Debates above-mention'd.)

1. Whether the King, being neither Judge nor Party, can Order the Execution?
2. Whether the Lords can award the Execution?
3. Whether the King can Dispense with any part of the Execution?
4. If the King can Dispense with some part of the Execution, why not with All?

Upon the Debate, it was, in the Conclusion, [Resolved, That This House is [CONTENT,] (That is to say; it does VOUCHSAFE, and with MUCH A-DO too) that the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, do Execute William Late Viscount Stafford, by Severing his Head from his Body only.]

The Story of these Insolencies will never be Believ'd in After-Ages; but however, we are upon the Foot still, of the (a) [Trayterous, and Execrable Conspiracy for the (b) Imprisoning, Deposing, and Murdering his Sacred Majesty, and the (c) Raising and Disposing of Men, Moneys, Arms, and other Things Necessary for their Wicked, and Trayterous Designs, and Namely, a Commission for William Viscount Stafford, to be Paymaster of the Army.]

Here's a Dreadfull Business (as the Good Woman said) about this same Trayterous, and Execrable Conspiracy; Pray the Lord it be all True at Last; for the Government was Mightily off the Hinges about it; and the Fountain of Mercy, and Power, seem'd to be quite Dry'd-up. The Sheriffs were become the Peoples Officers, and the Commons made Judges of the Validity of the Kings Writ. The Style of Authority, was no longer [We Charge and Command] but [Resolved upon the Question;] and the Power of the Keys, dropt into St Stephens Chappel: And that they might not seem Partial to One Prerogative more then Another, They struck at the King's Power of Parliaments, as well as of Pardons; and finding that an Everlasting Parliament Agreed so well with their Predecessors, they had a Months-mind to make Tryal of the Same Experiment Themselves too; as may be seen by the By, in their Parliamentary Addresses, and Votes, but most Expressly, in the Throng of Popular Addresses to his Majesty, and in the Libel of Vox Patria; where so many of the Members got themselves Address'd to, in a kind of an Association, to That very purpose. As for Example: In the Address against Sir George Jeffreys; the Earl of Halifax; and several Votes upon the same Occasion.

[We your Majesties most Dutifull, &c. in hopes to bring the Popish Conspirators to speedy Justice, were about to Petition to your Majesty in an Humble, Dutifull, and Legal Way, for the Sitting of This Parliament, &c.] And so again.

[We &c. being deeply sensible of the Manifold Dangers and Mischiefes which have been Occasion'd to This your Kingdom by the Dissolution of the Last Parliament, and by the Fre-

E. of D. Fardon  
Question'd.  
Journal. Mar. 24.  
1678.

No Power of  
Life and Death.

Com. Journal  
Dec. 21. 1678.

Collection of De-  
bates, Dec. 23.  
1680. p. 215.

Bethel & Cornish  
Scruple about the  
Execution of the  
Lord Stafford.  
Lord Staffords  
Tryal. Fol. 217.

Bethels Quarries.  
Coll. of Debates,  
Dec. 23. 1680.

Ibid.

Lord Staffords  
Tryal. (a) fol. 4.  
(b) fol. 5.  
(c) fol. 6.

Parliamentary as  
well as Pardoning  
Power Question'd

Commons Votes  
Nov. 22. 1680.

Com. Votes Nov.  
26. 1680.

quent Prorogations of This Parliament, whereby the Papists have been Greatly Encouraged to Carry on their Hellish, and Damnable Conspiracies &c.]

[**Resolved**, That Whosoever Advised his Majesty to Prorogue This Parliament, to Any Other purpose, then in Order to the Passing of a Bill for the Exclusion of James Duke of York, is a Betrayer of the King; the Protestant Religion, and of the Kingdom of England; a Promoter of the French Interest, and a Pensioner to France.]

What is All This, but Overturning, and Overturning? Confusion, like Waves, following One upon the Back of Another; and the Cabal so Intoxicated with Passion, in the Logick of This Last Vote, that the very Despair of being Defeated, made them Forget their Ordinary Prudence: For the Conclusion is never to be Reconcil'd to the Premises. All that can be said for This Worrying Vote, is, that they were then in their Last Agonies; for they were That Day Prorog'd, from the aforesaid 20th of January, to the 20th, in Order to a Dissolution: And in All Mischievous Creatures, the Convulsions of Death are ever the Strongest: But for the Rolls of the Written Addresses of Those Days, they are most of them Peremptory, for Sitting 'till they might be Effectually Secur'd, and That's One Main Condition too, of the Country's Addresses to their Members; And the Address of Sir Patience Ward, then Lord-Mayor, &c. to his Majesty Himself.

[Your Petitioners were Extremely Surpris'd at the Late Prorogation, whereby the Prosecution of the Publick Justice of the Kingdom; and the Making the Provisions Necessary for the Preservation of your Majesty, & your Protestant Subjects, hath received an Interruption, &c.]

They do therefore most Humbly Pray, &c. That the said Parliament may Sit from the Day to which they are Prorogued, until by their Councils, and Endeavours, Those Good Remedies shall be Provided, and Those Full Bills Attain'd; upon which, the Safety of your Majesties Person; The Preservation of the Protestant Religion; The Peace and Settlement of your Kingdoms, and the Welfare of This your Ancient City, do so Absolutely Depend.]

What is This now, but the Counter-part of the Bill for Continuing the Parliament, that was Pass'd in Forty One; & Chiefly upon the very Same Pretences too; Viz. That Publick Grievances might be Redress'd, and Justice done upon Delinquents, before the Parliament should be Dissolv'd: Or in short; The King was [Not to Prorogue, Adjourn, or Dissolve This Parliament, without Consent of Both Houses.]

And there's Another Parliamentary Point, yet to Come, in the Vote of Unqualifying the Members, for the Receiving of any Beneficial Office from the King. 'Tis a kind of a Scandalous Incapacity, for a Subject to fare the worse for his Masters Commission; And too much in all Confidence, for the Same Member to Eye-up the Kings Hands from Any Act of Grace, and Bounty, toward his Subjects, that had before Ty'd-up the Peoples Hands, from Supplying his Majesty. The Vote was This;

[**Resolved**, That no Member of This House shall Accept any Office, or Place of Profit from the Crown, without the Leave of This House, nor any Promise of any such Office or Place of Profit, during such time as he shall Continue a Member of This House.]

An Eminent Member that Started This Motion, made it his Observation upon the Long Parliament, [That All Those that had Penions, and most of Those that had Offices, Voted All of a side, as they were directed by some Great Officer, &c.] If That Gentleman had taken as much Notice, that the House had but Two sides, and who Voted on the Other; he would have found a Noble Peer, to have Weigh'd against his Great Officer, and the Matter to be no more then the Old Discrimination over again, of [King and Parliament.] It may be a Question now, the Tendency, and Intent of This Touch duly Consider'd, whether they made the King, or the Member, in such a Case, the Greater Delinquent of the Two.

And they were not Contented, here, neither, without a Further Essay upon the Choice of his Majesties Ministers; and Officers of State, War, and Justice; After the Copy of the Old Nineteen Propositions.

The 19 Propositions over again.  
(a.) Votes. Address. Dec. 21. 1680.  
(b.) Ibid.

[**No** (a) Judges but men of Ability, Integrity, and Known Affection to the Protestant Religion: (And They themselves to be Judges of the Judges) Their Offices, and Salaries, to hold, Quantum se bene gesserint, &c. (b) No Lord-Lieutenants, but Persons of Integrity, and Known Affection to the Protestant Religion, (the Religion of the Militia, that is) No Deputy-Lieutenants, and Justices of the Peace, but so Qualify'd; And moreover, Men of Ability, Estates, and Interest in their Country: (under the Same Character still) None to be Employ'd as Military Officers, or Officers in his Majesties Fleet, but men of Known Experience, Courage, and Affection to the Protestant Religion.] (All, Parliament-men, still, and of the House of Commons.) To say Nothing of the Habeas-Corpus Bill; and Other Enroachments upon the Prerogatives of the Crown: for fear of being too too Tediuous. We'll see next, how they Behav'd themselves in the Business of the Militia, and the Kings Guards; over and above the Step they made to have the Approbation of All Officers, themselves; After the Blessed Example, still, of Old Forty One: Nay, and in the very Method too; Beginning with an Address for Guards, as follows.

Attempts upon the Militia. Journals Oct. 24. 1678.

[**W** Hereas the Safety, and Preservation of your Majesties Sacred Person, is of so Great a Consequence and Concernment, to the Protestant Religion, and to All your Subjects; We do most humbly beseech your Majesty to Command the Lord Chamberlain, and All Other the Officers of your Majesties Household, to take a Strict Care that no Unknown, or Suspicious Persons may have Access near your Majesties Person; and that your Majesty will likewise please to Command the Lord-Mayor, and Lieutenancy of London, to Appoint sufficient Guards of the Train-Bands, during This Session



Session of Parliament; and likewise the Lords Lieutenants of Middlesex and Surry, to appoint the Like Guards of the Trained-Bands, in Middlesex, Westminster, Southwark, and other Places Adjacent, as shall be thought Necessary.]

With Honour to That Long, Loyal Parliament; To many of them as Believ'd the *Whiffles*, had great Reason to Provide against *Overses Black-Bills*, and *Mustard-Balls*: But They that KNEW the whole Story to be as Arrant a Tale, as Tom Thumb; Those People, I say, had Desires, of Drawing the *Militia* over to Themselves, by Trepanning the *Multitude* into the Execution of One Cheat, under the Dread, and Belief of Another: And there were Men enow got into That Body, to Leaven the Whole Lump: The City of London however, will be Wiser, I hope, in the time to Come, after the better Part of 100000<sup>l</sup>. paid for Experience; then to call for Double Guards again, for fear of Popery. But here follows Another Address about the *Militia*, that goes a little further, than the Former; Tho' That would not do, Neither.

[May it please your Majesty, We your Majesties most Dutifull, and Loyal Subjects, the Commons in Parliament Assembled, taking into Consideration the Eminent Dangers pressing to your Majesty, and the Whole Kingdom, from Popish Practices, and Conspiracies; and Considering that Nothing can so well Resist such Attempts, as some Parts of the Militia; (The British Regular Forces of This Kingdom:) [They should have said By your leave, Gentlemen of the Guards] *Assembly in Arms*, on whom your Majesty may Rely, with the Greatest Confidence, and Security.

We do therefore humbly Desire your Majesty to Command your Lieutenants and Deputy-Lieutenants of the Several Counties of This Kingdom, to Give Order to All their Trained-Bands to be in a Readiness; and Draw together one Third Part of the Respective Militia, and to Continue them in a Body for Fourteen Days; and after they are Dismiss'd, to Draw up another Part for the same Time, &c.]

The Plot would not Take it seems, in One Parliament, and so they Try'd it again in the Next; falling foul, particularly, upon the Kings Guards, in the First Place, and after That, they were All in Possession again, for the Raising of the Militia, in these two following Instances of Votes, & Address.

[Resolved, That the Continuing of any Standing Forces in This Nation, other than the Militia, is illegal, and a Great Grievance, and Vexation to the People.] And then.

We your Majesties most Loyal, &c. do most humbly beseech your Majesty, that your Majesty would be Graciously pleas'd to give Order, that the Militia of London, Westminster, Southwark, the Tower-Hamlets, and the Counties of Middlesex and Surry may Immediately be Raised, and put in a Posture of Defence, in such Proportion, and for such time, as your Majesty shall think fit.]

In the Wipe upon the Guards, they had it in their Heads, directly, to Disarm the King; Nay, to Un-king him; (for without the Power of the Sword, he hath No Power at all;) and in fine, to Turn the Point of it, upon their Sovereign: For the Militia, at the Rate that they had Tamper'd the Peoples Minds, and Affections, would have been as Fit for Another Edge-Hill Expedition, against Charles the Second, as ever it was for That, in the Time of Charles the Martyr.

After these Attempts to make the Late King Poor, and Struck, by all ways of Draining the Exchequer, without any Prospect of Resource; and by Usurping upon his Prerogatives, as well Military, as Civil, they Attacq'd him next, in his Credit: the Conspirators of the Caball Endeavouring to Render him as Cheap, and as Hateful, That way, as they Propounded to all other Purposes, to make him Miserable. When I say Credit; I do not mean the Credit of a Merchant, in Master of Money; but the Credit of a Prince, upon the Point of Character, and Honour. There could not well be a Greater Libell, than their Printed Vozes, beside the Encouragements they gave, to Scurrilous Little Knaves, and Pamphlets; Nor was it Possible, to speak Worse of a Prince, then Those Papers made Every body Think, that Read, and Believ'd them. His Wisdom, His Justice, His Truth, His Clemency, were, All, call'd in Question; and Expos'd by Power, and Orders: As That One Instance of the Address, Nov. 29. 1680. may serve for All. The Question was Popery; The Fears of it Grounded upon the Plot; the Queen, and the Duke of York Involv'd in the Scandal of the Accusation; and his Majesty Himself render'd, by more then Implication, a Favourer of That Plot, and a Conspirator against Himself. But let the Address Speak in it's Own Words.

Practices upon his Late Majesties [Credit.]

A Libellous Address.

Their Opposers (the Papists) have found means to Disgrace; and if they were Judges, Justices of the Peace, or other Magistrates, to have them turn'd out of Commission.

Votes Nov. 29. 1680. p. 77.

The Continuance, or Prorogation of Parliaments, has been Accommodated to serve the Purposes of That Party. Money rais'd upon the People to Supply your Majesties Extraordinary Occasions, was by the Prevalence of Popish Councils, Employ'd to make War upon a Protestant State.

Ibid.

When the House of Commons were Prepared to bring to a Loyal Tryal the Principal Conspirators in This Plot, That Parliament was first Prorog'd, and then Dissolv'd.

Ibid.

Whiffles are Attempted to be Corrupted, and not only Promises of Reward, but of the Favour of your Majesties Brother, made the Motives to their Compliance.

Ibid.

Doctors of the most Considerable of your Majesties Protestant Subjects, have Crimes of the Highest Nature Forged against them; the Charge to be Supported by Subornations, and Perjury, that they may be Destroy'd by Forms, of Law, and Justice.

Ibid.

We have lately upon Mature Deliberation, Proposed One Remedy of These Great Evils,

Ibid.

without which, ( in Our Judgments ) All Others will prove Vain and Fruitless ; And ( like All Deceitfull Secularities, against Certain Dangers ) will rather Expose your Majesties Person to the Greatest Hazard, and the People, together with All that's Valuable to them, as Men or Christians, to Utter Ruine, and Destruction.

If after All This, the Private Suggestions of the Subile Accomplices of That Party, and Designs, should yet Prevail, &c. we shall have This Remaining Comfort, that we have Free'd our selves from the Guile of That Bloud and Desolation, which is like to Enſue.

What did These People make of the King all this while, but the Patron of the Sworn Enemies of his Life, and Religion; and the Contriver of the Ruine of Himself, and of his People? The Papists did All, it seems; and made Him to do All too, that They pleas'd. Was it True, that They did so, or was it False? If True, it must be either out of Facility, Confederacy, or ( with Veneration to his Sacred Ashes ) it must be Inadvertency, to the Highest Degree, and such an Inadvertency, as Hazzarded his Crown, his Life, & his Reputation, All in One. For the Action was His Own, upon what Motive soever he Did it. Was it the Papists that put out the Judges, and Justices? Was it the Papists, that Continu'd, or Prorog'd Parliaments? Was it the Papists, that made the Protestant War? That Repres'd the Plot; and the Conspirators? Was it the Papists, that Suborn'd Witnesses against Shaftsbury, and Colledge? ( for That's their Meaning ) And was That the Cause of Subornation that This Address Strikes at? Was it the Papists, that Ruin'd All, for not Yielding to the Exclusion of the Duke? Was it the Papists, again, that they make Answerable for the Bloud, and Desolation Threaten'd in This Address, because They Would not do the Things, which only the King, could do? How could Any man Believe These Calumnies, and, at the same time, keep his Thoughts of his Prince, within the Bounds of his Duty? Or how could any man Disbelieve 'em, without the Criminal Abandonment of so Diabolical a Practice upon the Honour of their Sovereign?

And the Malice of the Conspirators was not Satisfy'd Here neither; unless, after the Stripping his Majesty of All Other Means of Supporting Himself, they Depriv'd him, of the Use, and Service of his Friends too; which Friends of his, may be Properly Divided, into Papists Conſtit; and Suspected, or Reputed Papists. The Former were Visible, and Known; The Other, were a sort of People of their Own Creation: For whoever was not for their Turn, they could make such a Papist of him at pleasure. We shall see in Good Time, how it far'd, both with the One, and with the Other; while the Remaining Body of the Nation, was only a Party, of so many United, or Associated Protestants, that were Link'd in One Band of Confederacy, and Wag'd War, to the Everlasting Reputation of the Plot, under Ores's Banner. But to come to the Matter, I shall begin with the Former Sort of them, and Carry These Two Points Before me. First, The Story, and 2ly, The Ground of their Sufferings; And bring the Whole into as Few Words as Possible, in a Consistence with Candor, Truth, and Justice.

The Kings  
Friends were either  
Papists Conſtit,  
or Reputed  
Papists.

Their Proceed-  
ing with Papists.  
Journal Oct. 23.  
1678.

Nov. 8. 1678.

Nov. 16. 1678.

Nov. 23. 1687.

Dec. 3. 1678.

Dec. 7. 1678.

Nov. 16. 1678.

Ap. 27. 1679.

Journal. May. 7.  
1679.

Bold Addressee,  
Jou. No. 8. 1678.

May 11. 1679.

Papists or so Reputed, were to be Banish'd; [ BECAUSE ] of the Bloudy, and Trayte-  
rous Designs of Popish Recusants.

To be taken into Custody, and Disarm'd; Their Names Taken; Rewards given to the  
Discoverers of their Arms, [ BECAUSE ] of the Damnable and Hellish Plot, for the De-  
struction of his Majesties Person, &c.

Papists to be Disabled from Sitting in Either House of Parliament, [ BECAUSE ] of  
the Restless Conspiracies of Popish Recusants against his Majesties Person, &c.

No Popish Recusants to have a Residence in his Majesties Palace, or Access unto his Presence  
[ BECAUSE ] his Person is in Danger at This Time from Popish Conspiracies.

All Popish Recusants, or Justly Suspected Papists to be Apprehended, Disarm'd, and Se-  
cur'd, [ BECAUSE ] of the Pernicious Plots and Contrivances of Popish Persons.

Resolved, That if any Popish Recusant Convict shall Receive any Commission, he shall be  
Deem'd a Felon, And shall be Pursued, Apprehended, and Executed as such.

Popish Delinquents to be brought to Speedy Justice [ BECAUSE ] of the Manifest Danger  
to his Majesties Sacred Person &c. from the Notorious Conspiracies of Popish Priests, and  
Jesuites.

Pickering to be Executed, and All Papists or Reputed Papists to be Banished Twenty Mile  
from London and Westminster for Six Months; [ BECAUSE ; ] of the Horrid Con-  
spiracies of Popish Recusants.

London and the Parts Adjacent, to be Freed from Popish Inhabitants.

At this rate they Proceeded against Papists Conſtit, in the Quality of Papists, and put  
That Part of his Majesties Friends out of Condition, of either Serving their Master, or Helping  
Themselves. But then the Distinction of [ Suspected, ] or [ Reputed ] Papists, Swept the whole Re-  
mainder of them, to a Single Man: for One Wry Word, of Ores, or of his Works, was enough to  
bring any Mans name into the Black Roll. Whoever Alder'd to the Duke of York; Oppos'd the Exclu-  
sion, was Suppos'd to Advise a Prorogation, or Dissolution; Deny'd the Plot; Spoke Courisly of the Evi-  
dence; and in fine, Whoever was not an Associator, or a Friend to That Interest, was Positively Affected.  
But before I proceed to That Part of the Division of the Kings Friends, there are Certain Qualifica-  
tions of Papists and Popery, under Other Circumstances, that are to be taken in the way.

An Address to be Presented to his Majesty, that his Royal Highness may Withdraw himself  
from his Majesties Person and Council.

Resolved, That a Bill be brought in to Disable the Duke of York, to Inherit the Imperial  
Crown



Crown of This Realm.] And then follows immediately, *The Resolve, Nemine Contradicente, of the Revenging Vote.* In the Next Parliament, they were at the very same Sport again.

Ibid.

*Resolved, Nemine Contradicente, That the Duke of Yorks being a Papist, and the Hopes of his coming such to the Crown, hath given the Greatest Countenance and Encouragement to the Present Designs and Conspiracies against the King, and the Protestant Religion. The Next Resolve is the Revenging Vote, and after That, the Disabling Bill, These Three Successively. So that the Matter, and the Order of it, were Evidently Fore-laid, and the Caball in Both Parliaments agreed upon't before-hand: Nay the Queen her self was brought into the Conspiracy; (to the Eternal Infamy of the Believers, as well as the Reporters of That Sacrilegious Scandal) and an Address Resolv'd upon, as follows.*

Votes, Nov. 2. 1680.

[We Your Majesties most Dutyfull, &c. having received Enformations by Several Witnesses (Otes and Bedloe) of a most Desperate, and Trayterous Design and Conspiracy, against the Life of your Sacred Majesty, wherein, to their Great Astonishment, the QUEEN is particularly Charged, and Accused. In Discharge of our Allegiance, & out of our Affections and Care for the Preservation of your Majesties Sacred Person, and Consequently, of the whole Kingdom, do most Humbly beseech your Majesty, that the Queen, & All her Family, and All Papists, & Reputed Papists, be forthwith removed from your Majesties Court at Whitehall.] And then follow'd a Resolve of the Same Date, [That an Humble Address be Presented to his Majesty, that All Papists, and Suspected Papists, within the Several Counties of England and Wales, and Town of Berwick upon Tweed may be Apprehended, and Secur'd.]

Address against the Queen.

Journal. No. 28. 1678.

Ibid.

This was a Ready way now, to have a Clear Stage to Themselves: And the Wickedness of That Age Stopt at Nothing, when the Four Evangelists came once to be made a Scale to the Bus'ness; and when Murder was Super-Added to the Hypocrisy, and Perjury of the False Witnesses, and their Confederate Patrons, and Abettors. I come now to the Address that was made upon the Revenging Vote;

[WE do Humbly Represent to your Majesty, that being Deeply Sensible, that the Greatest Hopes of Success against our Religion in the Enemies thereof, the Papists, are Founded in the Execrable Designs, which they have laid against the Sacred Person and Life of your Majesty, which it is not only our Duty, but our Interest, with the Greatest Hazards to Preserve and Defend, we have Apply'd our selves to the making such Provisions by Law, as may Defeat these Popish Adversaries, their Abettors and Adherents, &c. And while any such Laws are in Preparation, and bringing to Perfection, it is our Resolution, and we do Declare, that in Defence of your Majesties Person, and the Protestant Religion, we will Stand by your Majesty with our Lives and Fortunes, and shall be ready to Revenge any Violence Offered by them, to your Sacred Majesty.]

The Revenging Address. May 14. 1679.

It is to be Noted, that the Vote was Soften'd, in this Address: For as it was Worded, at first, *Whoever had Kill'd the King, the Papists should have Gone to Pot for't, which Hint did as good as say; Get but over This Jobb, my Masters, and yave done your Bus'ness.* But the Conspirators found a way however, to Supply That Restrictive Distinction, by Murdering him Themselves, and giving it out that the Papists had done it; according to the Evidence of the Republican Conspiracy; which says it was so Determin'd, if the Rye House Project had Succeeded. [The Conspirators were to go to several Persons, and Ask them, Supposing that the Papists should Rise, or that there should be a General Insurrection, or a French Invasion, Are you in a Posture of Defence?] This was the very Practice, and the Imposture, in the Case of the Militia; the Double-Guards, and the Rout they made among the Papists. But Keeling, a little Lower in the same Tryal, puts it into some-what Plainer English. [These Men (says he) were to be in a readiness, and it was Design'd that the Thing should be laid upon the Papists, as a Branch of the Popish Plot:] Which may serve for an Excellent Comment upon the Present Text.

Walcots Tryal. Fol. 9.

Ibid.

Upon the 15th of Dec. 1680. There was no way with 'em, but immediately to [Banish All the Considerable Papists in England out of the Kings Dominions:] And it is to be Suppos'd, that they would not have Forgotten his Royal Highness in the Number; Especially, Considering how Mindfull they were of him in Other Cases. Insomuch that there was hardly any thing done, by the Conspirators that had Worm'd themselves into the House, but for Countenance-sake, and to While away Time, that had not the Ruine of the Duke, and consequently, of his Royal Brother, in the Bottom of it; and they were so Eager upon't, that all they could do without it, was to no purpose.

Vol. Dec. 15. 1680.

[Resolved, Nemine Contradicente, that so long as the Papists have any Hopes of the Duke of Yorks Succeeding the King in the Kingdoms of England, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto Belonging; The Kings Person, the Protestant Religion, and the Lives, Liberties, and Properties of all his Majesties Protestant Subjects are in Apparent Danger of being Destroy'd.] And then follows Another Resolve, upon the Necessity of such a Bill.

Dec. 15. 1680.

The Refusal of This Bill, and the Last Refuge (that the King had left him) of Proroguing Parliaments, were Two Terrible Rubbs in their way: For, with the Help of the One, they could have done the Bus'ness of the Roman Catholics, at pleasure, and made as many Reputed, and Suspected Papists of the Rest of his Majesties Subjects, as they found Averse to the Popular Design. And Then, under the Countenance of a Sitting Parliament they had a Thousand Tricks and Devices, by their Printed Votes, Papers, and Intelligences, to make their

Excluding and Proroguing, Two Great Points.

their Principalls Fall down, and Worship them, as the Bulwark of the Protestant Religion; the Heroes, and Patriots of the Common Cause, and the Saviours of the Nation. But the Cunning Snaps of the Faction, finding that the King would not let go his Power of Calling them, and sending 'em away again as he pleas'd; and that Prorogations, and Dissolutions were but as Sentence, and Execution, to them; They had the Wit to make a Provision of Parliamentary Guards for the Oxford Meeting, under Colour of Securing the Protestant Members from having their Throats Cut there by the Papists: And it is more then Probable, that if his Majesty had not very Prudently, taken Two Steps at a Time, and Dissolv'd them upon the very Spot, and Instant, without the Antecedent Ceremony of Provoking them, they would have found, (under the Colour of a House of Commons yet in Being) Another Game to Play. There had been a Heavy C y made upon all their Former Disappointments; in Pamphlets, Papers, Discourses, Addresses, upon Surprising Prorogations; Popish and Amazing Prorogations, &c. which humour they did Notably set forth in an Address to his Majesty of No. 11. 1680.

An Address a-  
gainst Proroga-  
tions.  
Coll. of Debates  
No. 11. 1680.

**I**N relation to the Tryalls of the Five Lords Impeached in Parliament for the Execrable Popish Plot; we have so far Proceeded, as we doubt not but in a short time we shall be ready for the same.

But we Cannot (without being Unfaithfull to your Majesty, and to our Country by whom we are Intrusted) Omit upon This Occasion humbly to Enform your Majesty, that our Difficulties, even as to these Tryalls, are much Increased, by the Evil, and Destructive Councils of those Persons who Advised your Majesty, first, to the Prorogation, and then to the Dissolution of the Last Parliament, at a time when the Commons had taken great pains about, and were Prepar'd for those Tryalls. And by the like Pernicious Councils of those who Advised the Many and Long Prorogations of the Present Parliament, before the same was permitted to Sit, whereby, some of the Evidence which was prepared in the Last Parliament, may Possibly, (during so long an Interval) be Forgotten or Lost, and some Persons who might probably have Come-in as Witnesses, are either Dead, have been Taken-off, or may have been Discourag'd from giving their Evidence.

But of One Mischievous Consequence of those Dangerous, and Unhappy Councils, we are Certainly, and Sadly Sensible; Namely, that the Testimony of a [Material Witness,] against Every of Those Five Lords (and who could probably have Discover'd, and brought-in much Other Evidence about the Plot in General, and Those Lords in Particular) cannot now be given, Viva Voce, forasmuch as That Witness is Unfortunately Dead, between the Calling and the Sitting of This Parliament.

To Prevent the Like, or Greater Inconvenience for the Future, we make it our most Humble Request to your Excellent Majesty, that as you tender the Safety of your Royal Person; The Security of your Loyal Subjects; and Preservation of the True Protestant Religion; you will not suffer your self to be prevail'd upon by the Like Council to do any Thing which may Occasion, in Consequence, (though we are Assured never with your Majesties Intention,) either the Deferring of a Full and Perfect Discovery, and Examination of This most Wicked and Detestable Plot, or the Preventing the Conspirators therein, from being brought to speedy, and Exemplary Justice and Punishment; and we humbly beseech your Majesty to rest Assured, (Notwithstanding any Suggestions which may be made, by Persons who for their Own Wicked Purposes Contrive to Create a Distrust in your Majesty of your People) that Nothing is more in the Desire, and shall be more the Endeavours of us your Faithfull and Loyal Commons, then the Promoting, and Advancing of your Majesties True Happiness, and Greatness.

Notes upon the  
Address.

**N**OW to Observe a little upon This Lamentably-Complaining Address; the Old Vein, I perceive, of Popery, and Calamity, Conspiracy, and Destruction runs quite thorough it: And what Misery soever, has either Threaten'd or Befall'n the King, the Government, the Church, or the People, in All Charg'd upon the score of This ~~Almighty~~ Plot, as the First Cause, and Mover of it. And (which was the spite on't) no Averting of Those Impending Miseries, but by the Kings Parting with his Honour, his Crown, Natural Affection, Humanity, Gratitude; in short, His Ministers, His Friends, His Prerogatives, Reason, and Justice. 'Tis Urg'd, that the Councils were Evil and Destructive, that Mov'd his Majesty to a Prorogation, and Then, to a Dissolution of the Foregoing Parliament. How could it be Evil, and Destructive, in the Advising, and not so, in the Doing too? Or what matters it, whether it be done ~~With-  
out~~ Advice, or ~~With~~ it; so long as the Venom of This Address Wounds the King, Equally, under the Cover of his Ministers. The Want of That Advice, & Resolution, in the Parliament of One & Forty, Cost the Royal Father his Life; and the Son, Probably, upon such a Concession, would not have come-off much Cheaper: Unless it shall be Imagin'd, that he might have found Better Quarter in the House, then in the Field, from the very same Persons that were Now in Council, and Afterwards in Arms against him. It is pretended, that the Commons were ready for the Tryal of the Five Lords, at the Dissolution of the Last Parliament: Now This was only Bubbling the Multitude; for the Commons Themselves would not Yield to't, unless the Earl of Dunby might be Try'd First. But to say All in a word; The King was Undone if he did Not Prorogue, and the Republicans, if he did. As to the Possibility of more Witnesses Coming in, it cannot be Deny'd, that, according to the way of Summons that was then in Fashion, the Common Jayles, Nay Newgate is Self, in the Case of France, was Consulted for Evidence; and they could not well fail of as many Witnesses, as either Malice, Faction, Countenance, or Reward, could Provail upon to Forswear themselves; But a [Material Evidence,] it seems, was lost by'r. (Beeloe they mean.) A Fellow Known for a Blasphemous, Atheistical Wretch; A Thief, a Cheat; and in fine, a Scandal to the very Alms-Barker. What a Dismal, [UNFORTUNATE] Loss was This now, of so [Material] an Evidence, (in Good Time) upon the Plot



Plot in General! (which Material Evidence in the True Intent of it, is no Other, then a Rogue that would Swear Any thing :) But against the Five Lords, they say, in Particular; And if there had been Five times Fifteen Hundred more of them, he should have Sworn against 'em All at the Same Price. I can hardly look back upon the Parting Complement, without Thinking of the Addresses and Declarations of One and Forty, for the making of Charles the First, a Glorious King; they are so Very, Very Alike. But so much for the Business of Prerogative. And now, for the Other Great Point, the Matter of Exclusion, let the Bill Speak for it self. 'Tis Long; But it Carries the Heart in the Face on't; and 'tis Pity but Posterity should have it Entire.

The Bill amended as the House had order'd, was read, Intituled, *An Act for securing of the Protestant Religion, by disabling James Duke of York to Inherit the Imperial Crown of England and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging.*

**W**HEREAS James Duke of York is notoriously known to have been perverted from the Protestant to the Popish Religion; whereby not only great Encouragement hath been given to the Popish Party to enter into, and carry on most Devilish and Horrid Plots and Conspiracies for the Destruction of his Majesties Sacred Person and Government, and for the Extirpation of the True Protestant Religion: But also if the said Duke should succeed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, nothing is more manifest than that a Total Change of Religion within these Kingdoms would ensue. For the prevention whereof, Be it Enacted by the Kings most Excellent Majesty, by, and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in present Parliament Assembled, and by the Authority of the same, that the said James Duke of York shall be, and is by the Authority of this present Parliament Excluded, and made for ever incapable to Inherit, Possess, or Enjoy the Imperial Crown of this Realm, and of the Kingdoms of Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories to them, or either of them belonging, or to have, exercise, or enjoy any Dominion, Power, Jurisdiction or Authority in the said Kingdoms, Dominions, or any of them. And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That if the said James Duke of York shall at any time hereafter, Challenge, Claim, or attempt to possess, or enjoy, or shall take upon him to use or exercise any Dominion, Power, or Authority, or Jurisdiction within the said Kingdoms, or Dominions, or any of them, as King or chief Magistrate of the same; That then he the said James Duke of York, for every such offence, shall be deemed and adjudged guilty of High Treason; and shall suffer the pains penalties and forfeitures, as in case of High Treason: And further, that if any Person or Persons whatsoever shall assist, or maintain, abet, or willingly adhere unto the said James Duke of York, in such challenge, claim or attempt; or shall of themselves attempt, or endeavour to put or bring the said James Duke of York into the possession, or Exercise of any Regal Power, Jurisdiction or Authority within the Kingdoms and Dominions aforesaid; or shall by Writing or Preaching advisedly publish, maintain or declare, That he hath any Right, Title, or Authority to the Office of King or Chief Magistrate of the Kingdoms and Dominions aforesaid, That then every such Person shall be deemed and adjudged guilty of High Treason; and that he suffer and undergo the pains, penalties and forfeitures aforesaid.

And be it further Enacted, by the Authority aforesaid, that he the said James Duke of York shall not at any time, from, and after the 5th. of November 1680. return or come into, or within any of the Kingdoms or Dominions aforesaid; And then he the said James Duke of York shall be deemed and adjudged guilty of High Treason; and shall suffer the pains, penalties, and forfeitures as in case of High Treason: and further, that if any Person or Persons whatsoever shall be aiding or assisting unto such return of the said James Duke of York, that then every such person shall be deemed and adjudged guilty of High Treason, and suffer as in cases of High Treason.

And be it further Enacted, by the Authority aforesaid, That he the said James Duke of York, or any other Person being Guilty of any of the Treasons aforesaid, shall not be capable of, or receive benefit by any Pardon, otherwise than by Act of Parliament, wherein they shall be particularly named; and that no Noli prosequi, or Order for stay of Proceedings shall be received or allowed in, or upon any Indictment for any of the offences mentioned in this Act.

And be it further Enacted and declared; and it is hereby Enacted and Declared, that it shall, and may be Lawfull to, and for any Magistrates, Officers, or other Subjects whatsoever of these Kingdoms and Dominions aforesaid; and they are hereby enjoined and required to apprehend and secure the said James Duke of York, and every other person offending in any of the premises, and with him or them in case of resistance to fight; and him or them by force to subdue: For all which actions, and for so doing, they are, and shall be by virtue of this Act saved harmless and indemnified.

Provided, and it is hereby declared, that nothing in this Act contained, shall be construed, deemed, or adjudged to disenable any other Person from Inheriting and Enjoying the Imperial Crown of the Realm and Dominions aforesaid; (other than the said James Duke of York) But that in case the said James Duke of York should survive his now Majesty, and the Heirs of his Majesty's Body: The said Imperial Crown shall descend to, and be enjoyed by such person or persons successively during the Life of the said James Duke of York as should have Inherited and enjoyed the same in case the said James Duke of York were naturally Dead, any thing contained in this Act to the contrary notwithstanding.

And be it further Enacted, by the Authority aforesaid, that during the Life of the said James Duke of York, This Act shall be given in charge at every Assizes and General Sessions of the Peace within the Kingdoms, Dominions and Territories aforesaid, and also shall be openly read in every Cathedral Church, and Parish Church, & Chappels within the aforesaid Kingdoms, Dominions and Territories by the several Respectable Parsons, Vicars, Curates and Readers thereof, who are hereby required immediately after Service in the Forenoon to read the same twice in every year, that is to say, on the 25th of December, and upon Easter-day, during the Life of the said James Duke of York.

The Faction were in a Fair way, by This time, to rid their Hands of the Kings Roman Catholic Friends ; and they were not without their Expedients, and Inventions, to get shut of Reputed, as well as of Profess'd Papists ; For there needed but an Impeachment, an Address, a Supplication, or an Opinion, to the doing of the Whole Work. The Papist Design, they say, was [ Assisted by the Treachery of Perfidious Protestants. ] Now Those Perfidious Protestants made Excellent Reputed Papists. [ Reputed, ] and [ Suspected : ] By whom ? If by Themselves ; the Devil's in People, if They do not Win All they Play for, when they have the Shuffling, and the Packing of their own Cards, and Keep-in, or Put-out as they Themselves please.

[ Resolved, That All Persons who Advis'd his Majesty in his Last Message to This House to Insist upon an Opinion against the Bill for Excluding the Duke of York, have given Pernicious Advice to his Majesty, and are Promoters of Popery, and Enemies to the King, and Kingdom. ]

Ibid.

[ Resolved, That it is the Opinion of This House, that George Earl of Hallifax, Henry Marquis of Worcester, and Henry Earl of Clarendon, are Persons who Advis'd his Majesty, ut Supra ; and that they have therein given Pernicious Council to his Majesty, are Promoters of Popery, and Enemies to the King, and Kingdom. ] And therefore they Address'd for the Removing of them : And when their Hands were In ; Laurence Hyde, Esq. and Lewis Earl of Faversham were to be Remov'd from All Offices, and from his Majesties Presence for Ever, and an Anathema Pass'd upon the Advisers of a Prorogation, unless upon a Condition of Excluding the Duke.

The Republicans  
Evil Counsellors.

I Have Chosen, rather, upon This whole Matter, to Hazzard an Error on the Right Hand, then on the Left ; and to venture being Over-large in my Authorities, and Proofs, rather than fall Short. So that here is Evidence, more then Enough, of the Snare that were laid for All men of Integrity, and Honour, and the Advantages that the Faction intended to make of the Zeal, the Passions, and the Credulity of the Common People. If This Pernicious Advice, in the Case of the Earl of Strafford, and Arch-Bishop Laud, had been given to Charles the First ; which the Votes Impute to These Honourable Persons, in the Case of the Duke of York, it had, most undoubtedly, Sav'd King, Church, & People, (if his Majesty had thought fit to follow it) which were All lost for want of Proroguing, Dissolving, & Asserting the Privileges of the Crown, in That Turbulent Justice. Insolent Demands, Expostulations, & Propositions, are the Certain Prologue to Insolent Actions : But his Majesty Himself, was too Good to Suspect ; and where ever he Truſted any of the Party, he was Betray'd. Briefly, the Case of the Two Last Kings were but too much Alike : Only the Latter, when he had Parted with as much as 'twas possible for him to Spare, and Save the Rest, he Held his Hand : Whereas his Unhappy Father, gave On, and On, 'till he left himself at Mercy. The Thing that made the Great Noise, was the Bill of Exclusion ; but [ A King or No King, ] was the Truth of the Matter in Issue. They were of [ OPINION, ] that these Noble Persons did so or so, and upon That Bare Opinion, let fly at the Kings Ministers, Effectually, by Whole-Sale ; without any respect to the Measures of Religion, Order, Reason, or State. How many Cart-Loads of Fears, and Jealousies have we had, lest the King should Abuse his Power ! And how many Casuistical Whimsies of Self-Preservation, in case he does : But here was no Right, no Colour, to the Pretence, of so much as bringing That Question upon the Carpet : And the Council that they Brand for so Pernicious, was, undoubtedly, the most Seasonable, & Saving Advice, upon That Crisis, that could be Given. But to go forward ; If they may Exclude the Heir Apparent, for Religion, why not the King himself too ? The Parity of Excluding the Duke, Extending to the Deposing of the Sovereign ; and This Doctrine was the very Corner Stone of the Last Rebellion. And Excluding for RELIGION is not All neither ; for it Involves a Claim of breaking-in upon the Crown, whether there be any Religion in the Case, or No : For the Conspirators made themselves, both Dividers, and Chusers ; and These Single OPINION, was a Sentence in the Case ; the very Saying that it was This or That Religion, or Whatsoever Religion they pleas'd, was enough to Make it so. [ This House is of OPINION, ] went Fifty times further, then [ Be it Enacted by the Kings most Excellent Majesty. ]

The Prerogative  
of the Commons.

This Unaccountable Stretch of Arrogance, and Usurpation, put all Sober Men to a Stand, to Consider, what would be the End, in a Natural, and a Logical Consequence, upon This Proceeding. If a Prince has not the Liberty of Choosing his Own Servants ; If he has not the Power of Promoting them ; If Subjects shall take upon them to Treat their Sovereign like a Pupil, and turn off his Ministers like so many Footmen ; because they are of [ OPINION ] that they give him This or That Advice ; and that such Advice is Pernicious ; If Matters be thus Manag'd, what's become of the Imperial State of This Government ? Here's Opinion, (and the Opinion of Subjects too) (without Proof, without Power, without Prerogative, and (shortly) without any Foundation ; ) Taking upon it self to give Laws to the Majesty of a Sole Governour ; and if they could have Carry'd That Point, it would have been as Good as a Task Gain'd, in the Account of the Multitude, to the Government of the Three Kingdoms : For nothing less then the Exclusion, would serve their Turn ; and the Confounding of all Those that were against This Exclusion : Nay, and That it self, would not have Done, at Last, neither ; as we shall see by and by. So that, once for all, having the Modelling, the Judging, and the Discriminating of the Friends, and Enemies of the State ; Themselves, and in their Own Right ; (as they pretended) what betwixt Affiancing, on the One side, and Seizing, Banishing, Disfranchising, Imprisoning, Oppressing, Suspecting, Reputing ; and the Sweet, Comfortable Methods of Sweating, Hanging, and Quartering, on the Other, there would have been little more for the Conspirators to Do, then



then to Kill, and Take Possession, and to lay Violent Hands upon the King, under the Colour of a Rescue.

**B**ut Religion, and Loyalty, was still the Burden of the Song; *A Company of Rogues, to Blunderbuss his Majesty! Burn Protestant Cities, and Massacre Poor Innocent People!* Loyalty & Religion the Pretext. This was the Voice that was Lifted up, and the Outcry, that Caused so much Weeping, and Wailing among us: While the Witnesses, in the mean time, were All-to-be-Colonell'd, Doctor'd, Captain'd, and Squire'd, for the Credit of the Story. It was a most Remarkable, and an Auspicious Resolution taken, to set a-part [Gods Way,] for [Gods Cause,] (as it was Blasphemously Christen'd) when they Post-pon'd the Consideration of the Lord Chancellors Speech, of Apr. 30. 1679. Time after Time, untill Sunday the 11th of May following, which was so Arrant a Forty-One-Banter, that I presently told my Friends, without going to a Wizzard, the very Dunstable Meaning of it; and the Plot-Leaders were so kind to me in That, as well as in Other of my Predictions, that they made a Prophet of me. But I shall have another Touch upon this Particular by and by.

Upon Nov. 8. 1678. They Resolv'd upon an Address, to Desire his Majesty, that there might be [a Particular Prayer, or Prayers Compos'd for the Cities of London and Westminster, relating to the Plot, and Conspiracy, Contriv'd, and Carry'd-on by the Papists, against his Majesties Person and Government.] Journal Nov. 8. 1678.

Upon Sunday the 10th following, they Complain'd [That in the Prayer, there was no mention made of the Papists; who (says the Vote.) are the Contrivers of These Damnable and Hellish Plots, &c. And humbly Desire his Majesty to give Effectuall Order &c. After this, and in the Next Parliament, they had Another Tour of Passe-Passe; of the Same Stamp with the Former; which went a Great way toward the Moving of All Those Passions that might be Serviceable to the Project of That Season: as will be better seen upon the Reading of that Address it self, or, (which is all one) of Another Address for a day of Humiliation on No. 25. 1680. in the Following Parliament, which Address, is within a very little of Word for Word with the Former.

[We your Majesties most Dutyfull, &c. being Deeply Sensibly of the Sad, and Calamitous Condition of This your Majesties Kingdom, Occasioned Chiefly by the Impious, and Malicious Conspiracies of a Popish Party, who have not only Plotted, and Intended the Destruction of your Majesties Royal Person, but the Total Subversion of the Government, and True Religion Established among us, &c. All which, Our Hopes and Obedient Sins have Justly Deserv'd: and being now by your Gracious Favour Assembled in Parliament, &c. do, in All Humility beseech your Majesty, that by your Royal Proclamation, one, or More Days may be Solemnly set a-part, wherein both our Selves, and All your Majesties Loyal Subjects, may, by Fasting and Prayer, Seek a Reconciliation, with Almighty God, and with Humble and Penitent Hearts, Implore him, by his Power and Goodness, to Infatuate, and Defeat the Wicked Councils, and Machinations of our Enemies, &c.] Mar. 21. 1678. and Nov. 25. 1680.

**H**ere's just the Style of the Old Blessed Times over again; when Days of Humiliation were us'd to be set a-part for the Kings Success against the Rebels. A Body would have thought by the Solemnity of the Wording of it, that there had been Sword, Pestilence, and Famine; Earthquake, and Fire and Brimstone in the Case. Now Every Thing help'd to Move Terror, Jealousy, Mortal Animosities, Indignation, and Transports of Ardent, and of Vindictive Zeal; Even to the Degree, of a Temptation to break through all the Barrs of Duty, Shame, Modesty, Conscience, and Respect: Beside, that upon the making of God Almighty a Party to the Quarrel, Temporal Power, Thrones, and Magistrates, are no better Accounted then Dirt under the Feet of Enthusiastique Bigotts. To Conclude; The Addresses for One Day of Humiliation, should have put the Kingdom, Methinks, upon Petitioning for Another, for the Sin of the very Address: At least, if the Plot should in the End, Prove False at the Bottom. But after all this Dust and Scuffle now, betwixt Petitioners, and Abhorers; True-Protestants, and Pensioners; Whigg and Tory; Observer and Trimmer, there are several more Difficulties yet behind, to be Enquir'd into. It is a Thing Evident, without Dispute, that a Prince Cannot be more Affronted, and Endanger'd, then by Pinching him in his Revenue; Paring, and Cramping his Royal Prerogative, and Power; Lessening him in his Reputation, and putting him out of Condition of Receiving the Services of his Dutyfull Friends; and Those Friends out of Condition to Support, and to Maintain the Honour, and Dignity of their Master. Now all this has been Attempted, and Pursued with the Uttermost Industry, and Bitterness Imaginable. But here was a Dev'lish Plot, it seems, and for That Dev'lish Plots Sake, the Heir of the Crown must be Disinherited, and the Roman Catholics, in a manner, Exterminated from off the face of the Earth; and no other way in the World to Save our Prince, and our Religion, (as the Infalible Oracle of St Stephens Chappel gives us to Understand) but by a Fair Riddance of all the Kings English Subjects of That Persuasion; which by Pursuivanting, Messengering, Sergeanting, Cooping-up, Squeezing, Risting, Plundering, and Oppressing, they had well-nigh Effectuated already: Only the Late King stuck at the Exclusion of the Duke: But however, the Faction had such an Offer made them, by the way of a kind of Composition, for the Exclusion, as would certainly have put them into the Possession of Their Own Wishes; If they had not been most Providentially Infatuated, into the Neglect, or Refusal of it: for the Preservation of the Crown, the Duke, the Royal Line, and the Monarchy it self. And here's comes the Expedient.

My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesſes of  
the Houſe of Commons.

L. Chancellours  
Speech. Ap. 30.  
1679.

**T**hat Royal Care which his Maſteſty hath taken for the general quiet, and ſatisfaction of all  
his Subjects, is now more evident, by thoſe new and freſh Inſtances of it which I have in  
Command to open to you.

His Maſteſty has Conſidered with himſelf, that 'tis not enough that your Religion and Liberty is ſecure during  
his own Reign, but he thinks he owes it to his People to do all that in Him lies, that theſe Bleſſings may be tranſmit-  
ted to your Poſterity, and ſo well ſecured to them, that no Succeſſion in After-ages may be able to work the leaſt  
Alteration.

And therefore His Maſteſty, who hath often ſaid in His place, that He is ready to conſent to any Laws of this  
Kind, ſo that the ſame extend not to Alter the Deſcent of the Crown in the Right Line, nor to defeat the Succeſſion,  
hath now Commanded this to be further Explained.

And to the end it may never be in the power of any Papift, if the Crown deſcend upon him, to make any Change  
either in Church or State; I am Commanded to tell you, that his Maſteſty is willing, that Provision may be made  
firſt, to diſtinguiſh a Papift from a Proteſtant Succeſſor; then ſo to limit, and circumscribe the Authority of a  
Popiſh Succeſſor in theſe Caſes following, that he may be diſabled to do any harm.

Firſt, In reference to the Church, His Maſteſty is content, that care be taken, that all Eccleſiaſtical and Spiri-  
tual Benefices and Promotions in Gifts of the Crown, may be conferred in ſuch a manner, that we may be ſure the  
Incumbents ſhall always be of the moſt Pious and Learned Proteſtants: And that no Popiſh Succeſſor (while he con-  
tinues ſo) may have any power to Controul ſuch Preſentments.

In reference to the State, and Civil part of the Government, as it is already provided, that no Papift can Sit in  
either Houſe of Parliament; So the King is pleaſed, that it be provided too, That there may never want a Parlia-  
ment when the King ſhall happen to Dye: But that the Parliament then in Being, may continue Indifſoluble for a  
competent time; Or, if there be no Parliament in being, then the laſt Parliament, which was in being before that  
time, may Re-Aſſemble; and ſit a competent time, without any New Summons or Elections.

And as no Papift can by Law hold any place of Truſt, ſo the King is content, that it may be further Provided,  
That no Lords, or other of the Privy Council, no Judges of the Common Law, or in Chancery, ſhall at any time  
during the Reign of any Popiſh Succeſſor, be put in, or diſplaced, but by the Authority of Parliament.

And that care alſo be taken, that none but ſincere Proteſtants may be Juſtices of the Peace.

In Reference to the Military part, the King is willing, That no Lord-Lieutenant, or Deputy-Lieutenant, nor  
any Officer in the Navy (during the Reign of any Popiſh Succeſſor) be put out or removed, but either by Authority of  
Parliament, or of ſuch Perſons as the Parliament ſhall intruſt with ſuch Authority.

It is hard to invent another Reſtraint to be put upon a Popiſh Succeſſor, conſidering how much the Revenue of the  
Succeſſor will depend upon conſent of Parliament, and how impoſſible it is to raiſe Money without ſuch Conſent. But  
yet, if any thing can elſe occur to the Wiſdom of the Parliament, which may further ſecure Religion and Liberty  
againſt a Popiſh Succeſſor, without defeating the Rights of Succeſſion it ſelf, His Maſteſty will moſt readily  
Conſent to it.

Thus Watchfull is the King for all your ſafety, and if he could think of any thing elſe, that you do either want,  
or wiſh to make you happy, he would make it his Buſineſs to effect it for you.

God Almighty Long continue this Bleſſed Union, between the King and his Parliament, and People.

**N**ot to Deſert beyond Good Manners, upon this Wonderful Offer. The Government ſeem'd, now,  
to be in a ſtrange way, whether it ſhould be a Monarchy, or a Common-Wealth. But all Treating, and Propound-  
ing paſſed with them, ſo that they put off the Conſideration of it, Day after Day, 'till the  
11th of May following; and then, upon a ſudden Motion, they came to a Reſolution of  
Journal Day, 11. having firſt a Bill brought in, to Diſable the Duke of York to Inherit the Imperial Crown of  
1679, the Kingdom of Great Britain: Which was follow'd with the Reverend Voice, in the Lay on't. Now this  
was rather a Mocking than an Answer; and a Proceeding, that had more of Raillery, and Inſolence,  
than of Prudence; for it was their Inſueſs, to have been more Mannerly and Modest: But their Buſineſs  
was Matter of Power, and Command, not Grievance, and Redreſs, and the Kings Complacencies in this  
Matter, were worſe than that of the People. For the more He Yielded, the Harder They Preſſ'd him; and  
the Inſolence was Reaſonable enough, from the Gaining of One thing after Another, by Importunity, to the  
getting of All at laſt. In ſhort, they had ſet their Hearts upon the Excluſion; and their Reputations  
too, were ſo far at Stake upon it, that the Conſideration of That Point, Either way, was a kind of Victory, on  
the One ſide, or on the Other. They had ſaid they ſhould have it; they had Tun'd the People to the  
Excluſion of it, and therefore, Have it they ſhould: In ſomuch, that [1679.] any Other way, ſeem'd  
to be to ſeem: For to be Reſus'd, and to ſet down with That Reſuſal would have been to loſe Ground:  
And they were, upon Any Terms, to uphold the Credit of their Authority, and the Reaſon of their De-  
mand, as well as the Opinion of their Honor: Delay was Hazardous, and they were rather for One  
Kingdom in Hand, than Two or Three in the Buſineſs, upon the Emprovement of the Project. But they reckon'd  
without their Hoſt, it ſeems, for the Boat, and ſo left the Stage, and the Debate, Re-Inſolent.

Upon



Upon the Meeting of the Next Parliament, they Open'd a little Wider; Declaring in an Address of December, 21. 1680. That, in Truth, the Exclusion Alone, would not do the Business, without an Association to Back it. Nay, and This was not sufficient neither, for [As some further means (says the Same Address) for the Preservation both of our Religion, and Property, We are humble Suitors to your Majesty, that from henceforth, Such Persons only may be Judges, &c.] And so it proceeds, to the Purging, and Regulating of Courts of Justice; the Choice of Lord-Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, and Justices of the Peace; Military Officers both at Sea, and Land: with an Express Exception all this while, to [Men of Arbitrary Principles, and Countenancers of Papiſts and Popery, &c.] That is to say; Always Excepted, the Pernicious Adversers of Propagating Parliaments, and Rejecting Bills of Exclusion: So that in fine; the Devil a Dram of Popery, was here to be found, upon the Foot of This Account; nor any thing else, but Sedition under a Masque of Religion, and an Impetuous, Restless Ambition; of getting Sovereign Power into their Own Hands.

Exclusion Alone would not do the Business. Votes Dec. 21. 1680. Ibid.

Ibid.

Now the most that can be pretended, in Mitigation of This Violent, and Unwarrantable Practice, is; that they Meant Well, perhaps, but fail'd in their Measures. If there was a Wheel in a Wheel, as they say, and One Plot Nurs'd up under Another, it might be a Thing Started by the By; and only an Advantage made, of an Occasion, Un-foreseen, without any Previous Design: My Answer is; that This was the Case of Some, but not of Others; And that I hold myself Bound, in Reason, Charity, and Justice, to Distinguish betwix 'em: That is to say; betwixt the Bare Believers, and the Consciences, though Mistaken Abettors of the Plot, and the Malicious Contrivers, and Promoters of it. Of the Two Former Sorts there were a Great many Worthy Men, and True Lovers of their Prince, their Religion, and their Country, that upon the first Flushing-up of the Show, fell most Unhappily into the Snare, and These were Persons, Effectually, so Eminently Loyal, and so Passionately Zealous for his Majesties Safety, and Government, and for the Protestant Religion, that they were e'en the Worse for't again; for their very Character, in Concurrence with Vile Projectors, Patrons, and Witnesses, gave a Reputation to the Imposture. Their Passions were so taken-up, with the Honor of the Wick'dness, that they did not so much Attend to the Proofs of it; and the Deregulation they had for so Hideous a Conspiracy, Blinded their Eyes, that they could not see the Cheat: But Time brought the Truth to Light, and People to their Wits again. This does not hinder, (though so many Good Men were led away at First, by Plausible Appearances) but that the Foundation of This Structure was laid in Hell; and the Treason, Deliberately Pursu'd from One End of the Train to the Other. The Exclusion of the Duke, was no other, then a Dethroning of the King; for his Majesties Prerogative, and his Royal Highnesses Birth-right, were Both Struck-at in the very Same Address. But whether This was done Wilfully, Spitefully, and with Malice prepense, is Another Question, which I take to be, not only Probable, in Many Respects, but Demonstratively Clear, and Certain, in Others.

A Manifest Conspiracy.

First as to the Quality of the Two Cardinal Witnesses. It was Low, and Mean, to the Degree of a Scandalous, and a Starving Poverty; and yet One of 'em from a Street-Beggar, and the Other from a Jayle, & an Alms-Basket, sets up for the Discovering of a Conspiracy Carry'd-on in the Cabinets of Princes; in the Privacies of Cloysters, and Cells, and in the Secret Confidences of men of Honour, of the First Rank; What Forces to be Rak'd; What Officers; When, and in What Manner the King was to be Murder'd; the Price of the Victory, and Who and Who to do the Execution. How could any man, whose Patience upon the Surprise of the First Alarm, would but give him leave to Think, tho' never so Little of the Tale, and of the Reporters of it; Imagine, that these Scoundrells should ever come within reach, of being Privy to this Plot, even if Every Syllable of it had been True: And that so many Persons of Brains and Fortune, should Trust their Lives, and Estates in the Hands, and at the Mercy of such a Brace of Vagabonds: Otes at the End of his Narrative, in his List of the Conspirators, reckons up [Nine Benedictines, Three Carmelites, Two Franciscans, Ten Dominicans, Twenty Five Jesuits, All in England; Two at Liege, Five at Watton, Twelve at St Omers, Seven Jesuits more abroad; Twelve Scotch Jesuits, Eight Secular Persons; Two Lay-Brothers, Fourteen Secular Priests in England, which he has upon Enformation, he says: (as who should say, I dare not Venture an Oath upon't.) [Four other Persons, Beside Seven and Twenty Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Officers, that had All, Commissions, whose Names (he says) did not Occur as Prisoners.] This is a Great Number of Conspirators, for One poor Man to give an Account of.

The Witnesses & the Conspirators.

Otes's Narrative. fol. 58. 59. 60. 61.

As to the Probity of their Life and Conversation: They came upon the Stage, Recommended for Bugger, Perjury, and Horse-Stealing by Address; and Notorious, for these Evidencing Qualifications, beforehand. In their Enformations, they Fall Foul, not only One upon Another; but upon Themselves too; and Each of them is Felon de se, in his Self-Contradictions. Now this is a Topique, that has been Beaten over and over, throughout the whole Course of the Observations; and a Man might Muster up, at least Forty or Fifty Corroborating Swearers more, of the Same Stamp.

But I am now upon the Subject of the Suborners Themselves, Not the Hiring's; For Those Men, and Matters, would never have pass'd Muster, if there had not been more Care taken to Cover, and Conceal the Perjury, then to find out the Truth. Who were the Great Sticklers for Otes, and his Accomplices, but the very Persons that were the Ring-Leaders of the Late Rebellions?

lions? And who but *Oates* again, at All their *Republican Clubs*, and *Cabals*? In short; Nothing could be more *Palpable*, then that there was a *Confederate Agreement* of the Party, in *Mediating* for the *Profess'd Enemies* of the Government, and *Addressing* against the *Unquestionable Friends*, and *Servants* of it. Nor could That *Constant Practice* have any Other End in Prospect, then the *Ruine* of the King, the *Subversion*

Votes. Jan. 10.  
1680.

Ibid.

Ibid.

of the *Monarchy*, and the *Introducing* of a *Common-Wealth*. What was the Meaning of their Vote of [ *Thanks to the City of London for their Manifest Loyalty to the King, their Care, Charge, and Vigilancy for the Preservation of his Majesties Person and of the Protestant Religion,* ] But the *Firing* of a *Gun* to Call for Help, upon the *Springing* of a *Leak*, and no body within distance to *Relieve* them? And then to follow it the Same Morning, with Another *Resolved*, [ *That it is the Opinion of the House, That James Duke of Monmouth hath been removed from his Offices and Commands, by the Influence of the Duke of York.* ] And so to [ *Order an Application to be made to his Majesty from That House, by such Members thereof as were of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Councill, to Desire his Majesty to Restore the said James Duke of Monmouth to his said Offices, and Commands.* ] What were These Two Votes, I say, but so much *Holy-Water* cast away upon the *Duke*, and the *City*; and to do as much as in Them lay, under That *Exigence*, toward the bringing of the *Head*, and the *Body Together*? Briefly, they found that One *Duke* was as *Necessary* for the King, as the Other was for the *Faction*, and That was the *True Ground* of the *Bill of Exclusion*, and the *Vote of Intercession*. *Ben. Harris* was *Fin'd*, and *Pillory'd* for One *Treasonous Libell*; *Care* (with his *Strange Knack*) was *Fin'd* for Another, Every jot as *Bad* as *That*; And *Brown* for Other *Libells*, the *Worst* of all Three. And yet These *Paltry Libellers* found *Powerfull Friends*, and *Intercessors*: Nay and the very *Fining* of them for *Sedition*, was *Enter'd* upon the *Charge* against *Sr W. Scroggs*, as One *Article*, *Ingredient* to the making up of his *Treasons*. Now certainly there was something *Extraordinary* in't, that more then That Number of *Noble Lords*, should be *Declared*, *Pernicious Adversers*; *Promoters* of *Popery*, and *Enemies* to the King and Kingdom, for only *Joyning* with the King Himself in *Opinion* against the *Exclusion*; And that the Same Persons should *Arraign* the One, that *Brought-off* the Other: So *Mortal* a *Sin* was it accounted, in Those days, to *Serve* the *Crown*, and the *Royal Family*; and so *Venial* a *Slip*, to *Endeavour* the *Overturning* of the Government. I do not remember so much as any One *Instance*, that *Vary'd* from This *Rule*; And never was any thing so *Constant*, that came by *Chance*. To give These *Political Operators* their *Due*; there was Nothing *Wanting* to their Purposes, that either *Fraud*, *Industry*, *Confidence* or *Hypocrisy* could *Furnish*. They made the People afraid of *Infalibility*, and *Arbitrary Power*, and at the Same Time, look'd them in the very Faces, while they *Assum'd* the One, and *Practic'd* the Other, *Themselves*; the Former, under the Authority of [ *the Wisdom of the Nation*; ] and the Latter, in the Rights of the [ *Commons of England*. ] For Every *Vote* was, in Effect, a *Sentence of Law*, *Reason*, and *Power*; *Sovereign*, *Absolute*, and without *Controul*; And it was but saying, that This or That [ *As at This Time, Grievous to the Subject, a Weakening of the Protestant Interest, an Encouragement to Popery, and Dangerous to the Peace of the Kingdom,* ] to make the *Resolution Authentique*, with a *Non Obstante*, of never so many *Laws* to the *Contrary*. If a *Vote* say, that the King Cannot (a) *Pardon*; (b) That *Subjects* shall not lend him *Money*; Or (c) [ *That the Refusal of the Lords to Proceed in Parliament, upon the Commons Impeachment of any Peer or Commoner, for Treason, or any other Crime, or Misdemeanour, is a Denial of Justice, and a Violation of the Constitution of Parliaments.* ] Here's the King, *Law*, and *Lords Over-ruled*, and the *Votes* made *Presidents*; *Cried*, and *Pleaded*, for the *Prerogative* of the *House of Commons*, in all the *Clubs*, or (which is the same Thing) the *Peoples Courts of Justice*, throughout the *Three Kingdoms*: And it could not well be Other, so long as *Green-Ribbon-Clubs*, and *Caballs*, *Millions* doors, had such an *Influence* upon what pass'd within; and that the *Principal Managers* of *Oates's Plot*, were the very *Oracles* that were *Consulted* for *Direction*, and *Resolution* upon All the *Conspiracies* that were then in *Agitation*. These *Evidences*, upon the *Transactions* of the *House* it self; drawn from the *Prints*, that they *Themselves Order'd* to be *Publish'd*, (and that were *Publish'd* accordingly) as an *Appeal* to the *Whole World*, in *Justification* of their *Proceedings*; and to *Prevent False Copies & Reports*: These very *Papers* are the *Evidences* (as their *Unlucky Stars* would have it) that are now *Arisen* in *Judgment* against them; and *Faithfully Deliver'd-over* to *Succeeding Times*, as the Only *Sure Means* of *Unriddling* the *Mystery* of This *Wonderfull Intrigue*: And, certainly, No *Better* way to let the *Reader* into the *Secrets* of This *Affair*, then by the *Key* it self, that was *Made*, *Originally*, to the *Cypher*.

Their own Votes  
& Papers are the  
Best Evidences.

I Have by this Time, *Trac'd* the *Likelihoods* of a *Deliberated Design* upon the King, *Church*, and *State*, thorough all the *Steps* of *Probability*, and *Strong Presumption*, up to the *Highest Degree* of *Certainty*, and *Demonstration*. Were not All the *Violent Asserters* of the *Duke of Monmouths Pretended Interest*, and the *Opposers* of the *Indubitable Right* of his *Royal Highness* *Embarqu'd* in the Same *Bottom*, of *Enmity* to the Government, and of *Kindness* to the *Faction*? How many were there in *Both Houses*, that had the Same *Hearts* towards the King, in a *Committee* of *Parliament* that they had afterward, in a *Club*, or in an *Army*? And still, *Oates's Plot*, the *Support* of All their *Pretences*: And what was the *Countenance* of That *Plot*, at *Last*; but that the King was in *Danger* of being *Assassinated* by the *Papists*; and therefore, the *Posses* of the *Three Kingdoms* was to be *Rais'd*, to *Prevent* that *Murder*? Now whoever *Believes* That *Story* to be *True*, must of *Necessity*, draw this *Conclusion* from it; That the Same *People* *Stickled* for the *Slaying* of the King, at *Whirehall*, that were for the *Killing* of him, in the *West*: That is to say, unless they can *Bear* the *World* down, that there was No *Rebellion*: Or that None of the *Leading Members*, of Either *House* were *Concern'd* in't; but for



for *That*, there was never anything made *Plainer*, then *This Affirmative*; not only from the *Mouths* of their *Confederates*, but from the *Confessions* of the very *Parties Themselves*. For the *Truth* of *This*, I may further *Remit* my self to *Divers Proclamations, Declarations, and Other Acts of State*, that have been *Issued out*, by the *Order, and Authority* of the *Late Blessed King*, and of his *Sacred Majesty* that is now in *Being*. But, as a *Supplemental Explanatory* to All the *Rest*; the *Paper of Association* that was found in the *Late Earl of Shaftsburies Closet*, (and *Probd* upon him, if ever *Light* it self was made *Manifest*) *That Paper*, I say, may serve; without any *Violence* to the *Text*, for a *Comment* upon *All the Dark Passages* of *That History*: for it is, in the *Frame, Order, and Matter* of it, no other then a *Compendious Abstract* of the *Debates, and Resolutions* that had pass'd the *Commons* upon the *bus'ness* of the *Plot*, and the *Succession*: Infomuch that there is hardly a *Syllable* of any *Moment* in the *One*, that is not *Answer'd, and Echo'd*, in the *Other*: and whoever *Lick'd* it into *Form*, the *Project* was the *Cubb* of a *Close-Committee*, and it was kept in *Reserve* for a *Forc'd-Put*. The *French Holy League* was look'd upon, in those days, as a *Master-piece*; but the *Devil* was, as yet, a *Novice*. The *Scotch, and English Holy League, and Covenant*, came an *Age Luer* into the *World*, and *Refin'd* upon the *French One*; and Then, some *Forty Year* after *That*, came the *Noble Peers Association*, that *Out-did* them *Both*. But there's no *Reading* upon't 'till we have the *Piece* it self *Before* us, in its own *Dimensions, Words, and Colours*.

The Paper which was Seized in the E. of *Shaftsbury's Closet* by *Francis Gwin Esquire*, One of the *Clerks* of His *Majesties Privy-Council*, and Read *November 24. 1681.* at the *Old-Baily*; before His *Majesties Commissioners* of *Oyer and Terminer*.

**W**E the *Knights, &c.* finding to the grief of our *Hearts*, the *Popish Priests and Jesuits* with the *Papists*, and their *Adherents and Abettors* have for several years last past pursued a most pernicious and Hellish *Plot*, to root out the true *Protestant Religion* as a pestilent Heretic, to take away the *Life* of our *Glorious King*, to subvert our *Laws and Liberties*, and to set up *Arbitrary Power* and *Popery*.

2. And being *Horrorous* that they have been highly encouraged by the *Countenance and Protection* given and procured for them by *J. D. of Y.* and by their expectations of his succeeding to the *Crown*, and that through crafty *Popish Councils* his *Designs* have so far prevailed that he hath created many and great *Dependencies* upon him by his bestowing *Offices and Preferments* both in *Church and State*.

3. It appearing also to us, That by his *Influence* *Mercenary Forces*, have been led into and kept on *Foot* for his secret *Designs* contrary to our *Laws*; the *Officers* thereof having been named and appointed by him, to the apparent hazard of his *Majesties Person*, our *Religion* and *Government*, if the danger had not been timely foreseen by several *Parliaments*, and part of those *Forces* with great difficulty, caused by them to be *Disbanded* at the *Kingdoms great Expence*: And it being *Evident*, that notwithstanding all the continual endeavours of the *Parliament* to deliver his *Majesty* from the *Councils*, and out of the *Power* of the said *D.* yet his *Interest* in the *Ministry of State* and others have been so prevalent, that *Parliaments* have been unreasonably *Protruded, and Dissolved*, when they have been in hot pursuit of the *Popish Conspiracies*, and ill *Ministers of State* their *Assistants*.

4. And that the said *D.* in order to reduce all into his own *Power* hath procured the *Garrisons, the Army and Ammunition*, and all the *power* of the *Deas and Soldiercy*, and *Lands* belonging to these *Three Kingdoms* to be put into the hands of his *Party* and their *Adherents*, even in opposition to the *Advice* and *Order* of the last *Parliament*.

5. And as we considering with *Heavy Hearts* how greatly the *Strength, Reputation and Treasure* of the *Kingdom* both at *Sea and Land* is *Wasted and Consumed*, and lost by the intricate expensive management of these *Wicked destructive Designs*; and finding the same *Councils* after exemplary *Justice* upon some of the *Conspirators*, to be still pursued with the utmost *devilish malice*, and desire of *Revenge*; whereby his *Majesty* is in continual hazard of being *Murdered*, to make way for the said *D's* *Advancement* to the *Crown*, and the whole *Kingdom* in such case is destitute of all security of their *Religion, Laws, Estates and Liberty*, sad experience in the *Cafe*, *Queen Mary* having proved the wisest *Laws* to be of little force to keep out *Popery and Tyranny* under a *Popish Prince*.

6. We have therefore endeavoured in a *Parliamentary way* by a *Bill* for the purpose to *Bar and Exclude* the said *Duke* from the *Succession* to the *Crown*, and to *Banish* him for ever out of these *Kingdoms* of *England and Ireland*. But the first *Means* of the *King and Kingdoms Safety* being utterly rejected, and we left almost in *Despair* of obtaining any real and effectual security, and knowing our selves to be intrusted to *Advice* and *Act* for the preservation of his *Majesty* and the *Kingdom*, and being persuaded in our *Consciences* that the *Dangers* aforesaid are so eminent and pressing, that there ought to be no delay of the best means that are in our power to secure the *Kingdom* against them. We have thought fit to propose to all

true Protestants an Union amongst themselves by solemn and sacred promise of Mutual Defence and Assistance in the preservation of the true Protestant Religion, his Majesties Person and Royal State, and our Laws, Liberties and Properties, and we hold it our bounden Duty to join our selves for the same intent in a Declaration of our United Affections and Resolutions in the form Ensluing.

## The Association.

**I A. B.** Do in the presence of God solemnly, Promise, Vow, and Protest to maintain and Defend to the utmost of my Power, with my Person and Estate, the True-Protestant Religion against Popery and all Popish Superstition, Idolatry, or Innovation, and all those that do or shall endeavour to spread or advance it within this Kingdom.

I will also as far as in me lies maintain and defend His Majesties Royal Person and Estate; as also the power and privilege of Parliaments, the lawfull Rights and Liberties of the Subject, against all incroachments and Usurpation of Arbitrary power whatsoever, and endeavour intirely to Disband all such Pertinacious Forces, as we have reason to believe, were raised to advance it, and are still kept up in and about the City of London, to the great Amazement and Terror of all the good people of the Land.

Moreover J. D. of P. having publicly professed and owned the Popish Religion, and notoriously given Life and Birth to the Damnable and Hellish Plots of the Papists against his Majesties Person, the Protestant Religion, and the Government of this Kingdom. I will never consent that the said J. D. of P. or any other, who is or hath been a Papist, or any ways Adher'd to the Papists in their wicked Designs be admitted to the Succession of the Crown of England, But by all lawfull means and by force of Arms, if need so require, according to my Abilities, will oppose him, and endeavour to subvert, Expell and Destroy him if he come into England, or the Dominions thereof; and seek by force to set up his pretended Title, and all such as shall Adhere unto him, or raise any War, Tumult, or Sedition for him, or by his Command, as publique Enemies of our Laws, Religion and Countrey.

To this end we and every one of us whose hands are here under-written, do most willingly bind our selves and every one of us unto the other jointly and severally, in the Bond of one firm and loyal Society or Association, and do promise and oath before God, That without joint and particular Forces we will Oppose and Pursue unto Destruction all such as upon any Title whatsoever shall oppose the Just and Righteous ends of this Association, and Maintain, Protect and Defend all such as shall enter into it in the just performance of the true intent and meaning of it. And lest this Just and Pious Work should be any ways obstructed or hindered for want of Discipline and Conduct, or any evil-minded persons under pretence of raising Forces for the service of this Association, should attempt or commit Disorders, we will follow such Orders as we shall from time to time receive from this present Parliament, whilst it shall be Sitting, or the Major part of the Members of both Houses subscribing this Association: when it shall be Prorogued or Dissolved, and obey such Orders as shall by them be set over us in the several Countreys, Cities, and Burroughs until the next meeting of this or another Parliament, and will then shew the same Obedience and Submission unto it, and those who shall be of it.

Neither will we for any respect of Persons or Causes, or for Fear, or Reward, separate our selves from this Association, or fall in the Prosecution thereof during our Lives, upon pain of being by the rest of us prosecuted, and suppressed as Perjur'd persons, and publick Enemies to God, the King, and our Native Countrey.

To which Pains and Punishments we do voluntarily submit our selves, and every one of us, without benefit of any Colour or Pretence to excuse us.

In Witness of all which Premises to be Inviolably kept, we do to this present Writing put our Hands and Seals, and shall be most ready to accept and admit any others hereafter into this Society and Association.

The



THE Reader will find in this Paper of Association, All the Lines of the Pretend'd Popish Plot; the Sum of the Whole Cause, and of all they Contended for. It shews the *Arise*, and Expounds the Meaning of the Design; the Manner of Working it-up, and the Degrees of Ripeing it for Execution. It lays Open the Rise, Progress, and Drift, of a Republican Conspiracy, Step by Step: Inasmuch, that a man may Trace out with a Chalk, the Entire Course of the Intrigue, from the First Breaching of it to the Last Resolution, and understand, that [Resolv'd upon the Question] had a Hand in't, as well as [the Knights, &c.] And This will Plainly Appear, upon Comparing the One with the Other.

My Next Business, to lay Open the Conformity of Parts, and the Harmony of Design betwixt the Proceedings of the House; and the Tendency of the Paper of Confederacy, and when I have made out That once, there will be No Separating the Conspirators in the Votes, from [the Knights, &c.] in the Association; but they must be Both, of Necessity Involv'd in the same Plot.

The First Clause finds [a Hellish Popish Plot,] agreeable to the Vote of Oct. 31. 1678. The Second finds the Duke of York in the Bottom on't: And so did a Following Vote, some Four Days after the Former; Whereupon, I remember, there was a Debate Started, for an Address, to Remove him. It speaks of [the Power, and Influence of Popish Counsellors, in the Disposing of Offices;] which is the Main Topique again, of the Address of Nov. 29. 1680. And so in the Third and Fourth Clauses; it falls upon the Illegal, [Extraordinary Forces;] [Unreasonable Prorogations and Dissolutions;] The Strength of the Nation both at Sea, and Land, put into the hands of [His Royal Highnesses Party, and their Adherents;] which is no other again, then an Extract out of Several Votes, and Addresses already mention'd. The Fifth takes a General Prospect of the Miserable Condition of the King and Kingdom, through the Vindictive Malice of the Papists: Which is over and over Inculcated also, in Several of their Addresses; as in that of November 29. 1680. If so and so; [We have Freed our selves from the Guilt of That Blood and Desolation which is like to Ensur.] And so afterward, in that of Dec. 21. 1680. The Question is Put; [Whether, in case the Crown should Descend to the Duke of York; the Opposition which may possibly be made to his Possessing it, may not only Endanger the Further Descent in the Royal Line, but even Monarchy it self.] In the Sixth Clause, it sets forth, that since they cannot Prevail upon the King to Exclude the Duke by a Bill, in [a Parliamentary-way,] they Propose [a Promise of Mutual Defence and Assistance among All True-Protestants.]

Address No. 29. 1680.

Address Dec. 21. 1680.

[In the Preservation of the True-Protestant Religion, his Majesties Person, and Royal State, and our Lives, Liberties, and Properties, &c.]

These are the Words of the Preamble, or Introduction to the Association; which are but the very same Thing, in Other Terms, with the Proposal of Dec. 21. 1680. in the Address it self: Wherein they desire [That his Majesty will be Graciously pleas'd to Assent to an Act, whereby his Majesties Protestant Subjects may be Enabled to Associate Themselves for the Defence of his Majesties Person; the Protestant Religion, and the Security of his Kingdoms: These Requests (say they) we are Constrained humbly to make to your Majesty, as of Absolute Necessity for the Safe and Peaceable Enjoyment of our Religion.]

The Condition of the Association, The Conditions of the Address Dec. 21. 1680.

So that This Association, is Parliamentary, from Head to Foot, and little more in't, then a Working upon their Model: Only [the Knights, &c.] Took Leave in One Case, and Ask'd it, in the Other: I speak of the Majority of the House, as it was then Leagu'd, and with Great Honour to the Loyal, and Sober Mixture that was in That Assembly. While the Address above-Mention'd, (in Answer to the Kings Speech of the 15th of the same Month) was under Debate, the Collector of the Proceedings of That Season, takes upon him to Report this following Passage, of a Speech Deliver'd in the House, upon That Question:

[I cannot agree, in Pressing the Association-Bill: For being it hath not yet been brought into the House, we do not well know what will be the Purport of it: And it is not Proper that we should Ask of the King, we know not What, nor Expect that he should Grant us what He can know nothing of: And truly Sir, I think that These Things about the Judges, Deputy-Lieutenants and Justices of the Peace, are Minute Things to be insisted on, in This Time, Compar'd with Others, which might be Demanded! Queen Elizabeth's Counsellors never thought Her Safe 'till the Popish Successor was in a Tower; and I am afraid that you will never be Safe, untill you take some such Course, that may bring things to an Issue. When you have done That, and Banished All the Considerable Papists out of England, I think we shall not be in such Apparent Danger as we now are; And seeing This may Probably be Granted, and the Other Bills Not, I humbly Move you to Recommit the Address, that it may be better Consider'd.]

Coll. of Debates p. 202.

And what's the Difference now, in Substance, betwixt the Bias of the Debate, and the Effect of the Resolution. The Exclusion, and Association, were not let fall, because they were Unequal, and Unreasonable; but because they were not Attainable; and only in Exchange too, for Other Equivalent Expedients: for Such an Imprisonment, and Such a Banishment, would have had the Force of an Exclusion, and an Association, without the Name of it; for the Banishing of All, on the One side, does Naturally Resolve into an Union, of All, on the Other.

Now to put All This together; it amounts to no more then what the Prevailing Party in the House had Propounded, Declar'd, and Resolv'd upon, Before-hand: Only the Kings Peremptory Refusal, put 'em up on the After-Game of Attempting to get That by Force, which they could not Gain by Address; And it is not to be doubted, but the Faction Acted In the House, as well as Out of the House, by the Same Spirit. To say the Truth on't; The Conspirators that Influenc'd These Disparate Designs, were Past-Rubbish, long since, and No Retreat left them, but with Halloo about their Necks; if Tenderness, and Clemency it self, had not well nigh Dissolved the Awe of Royal Power, and Justice; in the Overflowings of

That most Gracious Prince's *Patience*, and *Mercy*: But when the *Ring-Leaders* found, that they might *Ask Anything, Gratis*; they never fail'd of following *Denials* with *Importunities*, and *Importunities*, with *Expostulations*; 'till, in the End, upon a *Full Tryal* of their *Interest*, and *Skill*, they might come to *Settle* their *Measures*. They *Reckon'd* upon't, that they had *Two Strings* to their *Bow*: And that if *One Fail'd*, they had *Another* would *Hold*. They *Ply'd* his Majesty with the most *Reproachfull* of *Libells*, under the *Title* of *Petitions*, and *Addresses*; and, in a *Style*, and *Countenance* of *Duty*, and *Respect*. When they *Mis'd* of any thing at *First Request*, they were sure to follow it with *Passion*, *Insistence*, *Menace*, and *Clamour*: The [Monarchy it Self] could not *Stand*, without *Excluding* the *Duke*; and no way to *Prevent* the [Cloud that was like to *Enfue*] but by an *Association*. And in *Excuse* for the *Liberties*

Address No. 29.  
1681.

they took, they had recourse to [the *Trust* *Repos'd* in them, by those they *Represented*.] If the *King Buckles*, he's *Lost*, by his *Own Act*: If he *Persists* in the *Negative*, there's the *Ruine* of *Religion*, and the *Three Kingdoms* laid at his *Door*. If he *Yields*, it must be either; to the *Right*, and *Reason* of their *Demands*, or in *Acknowledgment* that they are too *Strong* for him, which is *Equally Dangerous*, *Both Ways*: To *Conclude*, what matters it, whether a *Prince* be *Lost* by *Treaty*, or by *Violence*? or whether the *People* be *Gull'd*, into a *Barefac'd*, or into a *Plausible Rebellion*? But at the same time, the *Common Medium* that they *Depended* upon; to *Either End*, was the *Good Will*, and *Favour* of the *People*: And there needed no more to *Secure That Interest*; then to put their *Shams* *Plausibly Together*; And under the *Colour* of *Zeal*, for the *Publick*, to *Draw Credit* to the *Imposture*.

At the *First Opening* of *This Plot*, Almost All peoples *Hearts* took *Fire* at it, and Nothing was heard, but the *Bellowing* of *Exercitations*, and *Rebunge*, against the *Accursed Bloudy Papists*. It was *Imputed* at first, and in the *General*, to the *Principles* of the *Religion*; and a *Roman-Catholique*, and a *Regicide*, were made *One and the Same Thing*. Nay, it was a *Saying* frequent in some of our *Great*, and *Holy Mouths*; that they were *Confident*, there was not so much as *One Soul* of the *Whole Party*; within his Majesty's *Dominions*, that was not either an *Actor* in *This Plot*, or a *Friend* to it. In this *Heat*, they fell to *Picking-up* of *Priests*, and *Jesuits*, as fast as they could *Catch* 'em, and so went on, to *Consult* their *Oracles*, the *Witnesses*, (with All *Formalities* of *Sifting* and *Examining*) upon the *Particulars* of *Place*, *Time*, *Manner*, *Persons*, &c. while *Westminster-Hall*, and the *Court* of *Requests*, were kept *Warm*, and *Ringing* still of *New Men* come in; *Corroborating Proofs*, and *Further Discoveries*, &c. Under *This Train* and *Method* of *Reasoning*, the *Managers* *Advanc'd* Decently enough, to the *Finding-out* of what They Themselves had *Laid*, and *Concerted*, beforehand: And, to give the *Devil* his due, the *Whole Story* was but a *Farce* of so many *Parts*; and the *Noisy Enformations*; no more then a *Lesson* that they had much ado to go thorough with; even with the *Help* of *Diligent*, and *Carefull Tutors*, and of many and many a *Prompter*, to bring them off at a *Dead Lift*. But *Papery* was so *Dreadfull* a Thing, and the *Danger* of the *Kings Life*, and of the *Protestant Religion* so *Alarming* a *Surprise*, that *People* were almost bound in *Duty*, to be *Inconsiderate*, and *Outragious*, upon't; And *Loyalty* it Self, would have lock'd a little *Cold*, and *Indifferent*, if it had not been *Intemperate*: Insomuch, that *Zeal*, *Fierceness*, and *Jelousy*, were never more *Excusable*, then upon *This Occasion*. And *Now*, having *Excellent Matter* to *Work* upon, and the *Passions* of the *People* already *Dispos'd* for *Violence*, and *Tumult*, there needed no more then *Blowing the Cole* of *Oates* *Narrative*, to put All into a *Flame*: And in the mean Time, all *Arts*, and *Accidents* were *Emprov'd*, as well toward the *Entertainment* of the *Humour*, as to the *Kindling* of it. The *people* were first *Hay'd* out of their *Senses*, with *Tales*, and *Jelousies*, and then made *Judges* of the *Danger*, and *Consequently* of the *Remedy*: Which upon the *Main*, and *Briefly*, came to no more then *This*. The *Plot* was *Laid*, all over the *Three Kingdoms*; *France*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*, *Tax'd* their *Quotas* to't; we were All to be *Burnt* in our *Beds*, and *Rise* with our *Throats Cut*; and no way in the world, but *Exclusion*, and *Union*, to help us: The *Phancy* of this *Exclusion*, *Spread* Immediately, like a *Gangrene*, over the whole *Body* of the *Monarchy*; and no saving the *Life* of his Majesty, without *Cutting-off* every *Limbe* of the *Prerogative*; The *Device* of *Union*, pass'd *Insensibly*, into a *League* of *Conspiracy*; and instead of *Uniting Protestants*, against *Papists*, *Concluded*, in an *Association* of *Subjects* against their *Sovereign*, *Confounding Policy*, with *Religion*. By *These Steps*, the *Managers*, I remember, proceeded to the *Instrument* of the *Association*, that is now in *Question*. They *Labour'd*, at first, to *Sham-it-off*; for the *Old Queen Elizabeth's Association* Reviv'd. 2ly. That it was only the *Copy* of a *Bill* that had pass'd the *House of Commons*: But when the *Matter* appear'd so *Foul* that there was No *Defending* of it, they made use of a *Third Shift*, to *Evade* the *Danger*, and the *Scandal*, by pretending that there was No such *Paper* in my Lord *Shaftsbury's Closet*, any otherwise, then as They that *Found* it there, *Laid* it there: And so they *Endeavour'd* to *Turn* the *Malice*, on the *One side*, into a *Trick* on the *Other*. This *Last Shuffe* was as well *Colour'd* as the *Case* would bear; in a *Paper* call'd [A *Letter* from a *Person* of *Quality*, to his *Friend*, about *Addressees* and *Abhorers*] It was an *Artificial*, *Sly Piece*, and the *Noble Peer* more then *Suspected* to have a *Hand* in't; Himself.

Now as to the *First Pretext* (to say nothing of the *Stare-Craft* of the *Old Association*) there was *This Difference* Between them; The *One* was to *Defend* the *Queen* against any *Pretender* upon the *Suggestion* of a *False Title*; The *Other*, was a *Conspiracy* set up against a *Just*, and *Legal Title*; the *One* was only to *Work* at a *Distance*, in case of such an *Occasion*; The *Other* was to *Blow-up* a *Civil War* Immediately, for fear of *Imaginary Dangers* to Come. The *One* had the *Countenance* of an *Union* against the *Queens Enemies*, and *With her Allowance*, and *Consent*; The *Other*, was a *Plot* upon the *Kings Brother*: and against his Majesty's *Mind*, and *Consent*. The *One* was, (in fine) a *Limited Association*, with *Submission* to *Authority*; The *Other*, a *Treasonous Usurpation*, in *Defiance*, and in *Despise* of *Authority*.

The *Second Cavil* was as good as a *Gag* to many *People*, in *That Troublesome Conjunction*; for a *Parliamentary Association* in *Those Days*, would have been *Sacred*, even against both *Law*, and *Gospel*; and there-



therefore Those that Believ'd the *Flam* of its being a *Bill* that had pass'd the House; ( And Consequently Asserted the Reason of the Proceeding ) reckon'd upon't, that they had the *Wisdom* of the Nation on their side, on One hand, as they had, moit Certainly, the *Folly*, and the *Madness* of it, on the Other. Now This Opinion, serv'd for a Protection to All that could be said, in favour of the Proj<sup>t</sup>, upon That Text. But the Passing of That Bill was a *Mistake*, for ought that I could ever hear to the Contrary. The King, 'tis True, was Press'd in't, over and over, as the Expedient, *Sine qua non*, for the Saving of his Life, his Crown, the Protestant Religion, and his People. And it is Obvious to Presume, that they had Resolv'd upon the Draught, the Conditions, and the Provision of it, before ever they made any Application about it: Beside the Manifest Agreement that was between them, upon the Special Matters in Issue. But in One Instance for All. On the 24th of Nov. 1681. There sat at the Sessions-House in the Old-Bayly, a Commission of Oyer and Terminer, upon a Bill of Indictment, for High-Treason, against Anthony Earl of Shaftsbury. The Foreman of the Grand-jury put certain Questions to a Principal Secretary of State, and a Clerk of the Council, that gave Evidence there, about this Paper of Association, which, coming from a Member of the Last Westminster House of Commons, could not but carry Great Weight. i. e. [ Do not you know, Sir, or have not you heard of a Discourse, or Debate, in the Parliament concerning an Association? Do not you remember in the House of Commons, Sir, it was Read upon Occasion of That Bill? ] This Question made many People think, that the Noble Peer, and the Plot-Managers in That House of Commons, were upon the Same Bottom; and that the Former was only to Create, what the Other had Contriv'd; which was no more, in Truth, then the Execution of his Own Purposes, and Designs: For his Lordships Head, Heart, and Purse, were in at both Ends of the Business.

Proceedings, at the Old-Bayly, London, upon the Bill of Indictment for High-Treason against Anthony E. of Shaftsbury. P. 34

The Third Evason was Immediately Blown off by Proofs under Mr Wilson's Own Hand, over and over, ( a Servant of Great Trust in the Family ) to make Good that the very Paper of Association, which was Produced at the Old-Bayly, was found in my Lords Closet, according to the Depositions.

There can be no Doubt in the World, from what is already said, but that the Knight-Voters, and the Knight-Undertakers, as to the Business of the Association, were Both of a Mind; and that there was little Difference betwixt the One, and the Other, more then that the One Cut out the Work, and the Other made-it-up. So that if it was an Ill Thing in One, it was so in Both, and whether it was so or not, is now to be Enquir'd into; and first, upon the General.

There was a very Loyal Declaration from the Middle-Temple, Presented to his Late Majesty by Mr. Saunders, ( afterwards Lord-Chief-Justice of the Kings-Bench ) upon This Subject. I cannot bring an Instance, of more Honour, or Greater Authority, toward the Confounding of This Association, then That Paper, nor an Address more Pertinent to My Purpose, or Better Warranted, both in Law, and Reason.

Our Sence of That Execrable Paper, Purporting the Frame of a Trayterous Association, produced at the Late Proceedings against the Earl of Shaftsbury at the Old-Bayly, We do therefore Declare it our Opinion, that the same Contains most Gross, and Apparent Treasons, more Manifestly tending to the Ruine of your Majesties Dominions then the Old, Hypocritical, Solemn League, and Covenant, which they that were Seduced to take, are no more bound to keep, then he that should Swear to Murder his Father is Obliged to Commit the Parricide.

Middle-Temple Declaration. See Ob. 106. Vol. i.

And it is most Evident to us, that whoever promoted That Rebellious Association Designed by the said Paper, or Countenanced the Same by Refusing, upon the Full Evidence, to find Bills of Indictment against the Authors and Promoters thereof, and thereby, as much as in them lay, Preventing their being brought to a Fair Tryal, have, in a High Measure, Perverted the Laws: And could have no other Design thereby, then to Usurp to Themselves, an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Dominion, not only over your Subjects, but over your Majesty also.]

I Shall proceed now to the Dissecting of it, and see, if the Particulars be not as Foul upon the Retayle, as it has been here Represented, in the Lump, and in Gross: The Ground of it is a Popish Plot: The Preservation of the King, Religion, Laws, and People, are set forth to be the Intent of it: So that by an Orderly Examining of One Thing after Another, it will be Easily seen, how far the Means here Propounded, will Answer the End.

WE the Knights, &c.] in the Preface, Signifies, in the Title, and Promise, [ the Major Part either of This Present Parliament, while Sitting, or of the Members of Both Houses, Subscribing This Association, when Propog'd, or Dissolv'd. ] And what is This Majority to Do now? [ To Defend and Aid one Another in the Preservation of the True-Protestant Religion, His Majesties Person, and our State, and our Laws, Liberties, and Properties. ] And Against Whom, are they to Defend, and Aid? [ Against Popish Priests, and Jesuits, with the Papists, and their ADHERENTS, and ABETTERS. ] That same [ Adherents, and Abettors ] goes a Great way; and needs Another Explanation: But what's the Quarrel now? [ A most Pernicious and Hellish Plot; ] to Destroy All, that the Associators have, by Solemn, and Sacred Promise, Engaged Themselves to Preserve. And now for the [ Adherents, and Abettors; ] There are Several Sorts of them. There are the Plotters Themselves; the Duke of York; the Secretary Foxes, ( alias, the Guards; ) The Officers that the Dukes Interest has brought in, both by Sea, and Land; and [ All that HAVE ANY WAYS Adher'd to Him, or Them: ] And [ All such as

OF ADHERENTS and ABETTERS]

SHALL Adhere unto Him.] So that here is an Association against the King himself, for Adhering unto his Brother; and Consequently, against All the Kings Loyal Subjects; for Adhering to Him, that Adher'd to his Royal Highness; which is only a Degree or Relation of Adherency once Remov'd. But How now is This same Adherency to be Understood? What is it that is here Call'd an Adherency? And how far does it Extend? Any man that shall [Seek by Force to Set up the Dukes Pretended Title; or raise any War, Tumult, or Sedition for Him, or by his Command] Or that [upon any Title whatsoever, shall Oppose the Just and Righteous Ends of This Association;] Or in fine [that shall *ANTWARS* Adhere;] (which is an Unlimited Latitude; and reaches to Thought, Word and Deed) That Man is an Adherent; Always Provided, God Save the King, I hope. No No. Without [any Respect of Persons, or Causes] 'Tis against [the Duke of York, or any other, that hath any ways Adhered to the Papists in their wicked Designs:] So that This League is as Particularly Levell'd at the King, for Refusing to pass a Bill of Exclusion, as the Votes of Jan. 7. 1680. was at the Noble Lords there, for Advising the King to Refuse it. Well! Again: And What Course is to be Taken at last, with These Papists and Adherents? Why the Associators will [Endeavour Entirely to Disband All Mercenary Forces] They will [by all Lawfull Means, and by Force of Arms, if need so Require, Oppose the said Duke of York; and Endeavour to Subdue, Erpress, and Destroy him; if he comes into England, and All such as shall Adhere unto him.] They will also [with their Joint and Particular Forces, Oppose and Pursue unto Death and Destruction, All such] as aforesaid. But what are these same [Joint and Particular Forces,] they speak of? Whence do they Come? Who Raises them? Who Leads 'em? By What Authority, by What Law, is all this done? The People are [To follow such Orders as they shall from time to time Receive from This Present Parliament, while Sitting; and the Major Part of it, when prorogued, or Dissolv'd; and to Obey such Officers, as shall be set over them, by the Authority aforesaid.] And This they do [Knowing Themselves to be Intrusted, to Advise, and Act for the Preservation of his Majesty, and the Kingdom; and being persuaded in their Consciences, that the Dangers are so Eminent, and Pressing, that there ought to be no Delay of the Best means that are in their Power to Secure the Kingdom against them.]

The Intent, and Effect of the ASSOCIATION.

What is all this now, but King, Monarchy, Parliaments, Laws, Liberties and Properties, Cut-off at a Stroke? The Papists Destroy'd, under the Colour of a Plot; the Duke, as the Head of the Papists; the King, as an Adherent to the Duke: The Kings Friends, for their Fidelity to their Master; the Laws Over-ruled by a Vote; The Oath of Allegiance made Void, by a Subscription to an Association: Kingsly Government Sunk into a Common-Wealth. One Part of the Two Houses Enslav'd to the Other: And this [Just and Pious Work, (as they Call it)] Is, in the Presence of God set a foot for the Preservation of the True-Protestant Religion; his Majesties Person, and Royal State, Our Laws, Liberties, and Properties: And this to be Pursued by the Subscribers [During Life] too, [upon pain of being by the Rest Prosecuted and Supplanted, as Perjur'd Persons, and Publick Enemies to God, their King, and their Native Country.] Here's in One Breath, an Oath that Makes them All This, and an Oath that They will Never be Other. This Paper Begins with an Oath, [Against] a Conspiracy, and Concludes with an Oath. [Of] Conspiracy. It begins with an Exclamation against Jesuits, Priests, and Papists, and Ends in the Dissolution of King, Lords, and Commons. Upon the Whole, it speaks neither More, nor Less, then the Sense, the Design, and (within a little of) the very Syllables of the Votes Themselves: And to say all in a Word; the One is but the Model, or the Minutes of the Other.

Worthy-MEN & Men-WORTHY

There was likewise found among my Lord Shaftsburies Papers (as I have formerly Noted in some of my Writings) a Book of the Several Counties of England, Ranged in Alphabet; under the Heads of [WORTHY MEN,] on the One side, and [MEN WORTHY,] on the Other, which was Intended, and Made use of, for a Discriminating List of the Royalists and the Republicans. Under the Cypher of [Men Worthy,] was Couch'd the Conceit of Men Worthy to be Hang'd. Now the Probable Advantage that they intended to make of This Distinguishing Register, (if Rightly Understood) may serve to give some Light to the Dark, and Mysterious Part of the Oxford-Plot; upon the Kings Person; The Mercenary Forces, and the Papists Adherents, in the Style of Those Times. By the Virtue of This Roll, and Distinction, at hand, they could, any time, at a Week, or Ten days Warning, Flush-up an Universal Plot; Get it Authenticated upon the Oathes of Half a dozen of the Sons of Belial that they had in Pay; Put All the Considerable Men in the Kingdom, into the Catalogue, and File it at last, to the Account of the Conspirators, [whose Names did not Occur at present,] to Ores upon his Calculation of his Narrative. A Thousand ways might have been Contriv'd, by giving a Hot Alarm; to have taken 'em All in their Beds, before they were aware: And at the Same time, to Beset the King with Petitions upon their Knees, to give 'em leave to Provide [for the Preservation of his Majesties Person, and Royal State] to the Tune of the Association. There would have been no more Need of Voting the Duke to be Banish'd, or the Kings Ministers, to be [Remov'd from his Majesties Councils and Presence for ever;] but there would have been Downright Commitments, and Impeachments; and more Work for One Poor Executioner, then Twenty Dextrous Knaves could have Turn'd their Hand too. Three or Four House-Ords, and Warrants, Immediately Dispatch'd away for the Seizure of the Conspirators, would have left the Government at Mercy. Nothing can be Clearer, I think, then that the Oxford Plot was a Branch of the Capital Design: And that by the Help of Shaftsburies List, they might have infinitely Facilitated their Work. Now, if it be Reasonable to Believe, that This was a Course to turn to Account; it is as Reasonable



able to Believe, that they Intended to make Use of it, and Empröve it as the Best Affairs they had Before them. There needs no more towards the Satisfying of any man, over and above the Evidence, in the Foundation, and Truth of the Oxford-Design; then to Consider, how the Whole Faction were Startled at the Summons Thither; and the Pressing, the Importune, nay and the Menacing Instances of Application to his Majesty that the Meeting might be at Westminster. These Considerations upon the Noble Peers Book, and the Oxford Conspiracies, may seem to be a Digression; but whoever duly Weighs them, will find that they hang All on a String, and are only Several Members of the Same Plot.

I Shall now pass some Necessary Reflections upon the Whole. There never was, perhaps, since the Creation of the World, so much Confusion Wrought, by so Mean, so Scandalous, and so Ridiculous Instruments; Lowzy, Greasy Rogues, to be taken into the Arms of Princes: Porters, and the Courtest of Letter-Carriers, to be made the Confidants of Publique Ministers: Starving Indigent Varlets, that had not Credit in the World, for a Brumigen Groat, and liv'd upon the Common Charity of the Basket, to be a matter of Seven Hundred Pound out of Pocket, in his Majesties Service; as Ores and Bedloe pretended. Sots, to find Treason, in Woods, at length, in Common Post-Letters. The Four Russians to have but Twenty Pound a Man, for Murdering the King by Assault, and Sr George Wakeman, Fifteen Thousand Pound, only for Poisoning him, without running the Fifteenth Part of the Risque; Nay and Bedloe, Fifteen Hundred Pound for but Lending a Hand to the Helping away of a Dead Justice. These, and a Thousand Incredibilities more, must be All Believ'd, or the Witnesses found to be most Damnable Forsworn; Unless it were for the Confidence sake that they had Credit given 'em; for the Matter of Fact, under Such Circumstances, was Morally Impossible to be True; And for the Probity of the Witnesses, they were already as well known as the Whipping-Post, for a Pack of Swearing, Lying, Chearing; a Prostitute, and an Abandon'd Sort of Mercenary Villains: And yet such was the Insatiable Credulity of the Common People at that Season, and such the Bold, and Shameless Hypocrisy of the Managers of That Imposture, that there was no Place, for either Truth, or Honesty to Appear. The Inference I draw from This Preposterous way of Proceeding, is, that the Whole Story, from End to End, was a Practice; that the Suborners of the Perjury, were also the Plottrons, and the Patrons of it Both under One: And that they had their Accomplices in the House of Commons, upon This Crisis of State, that play'd the same Game which their Fore-fathers had done upwards of Forty Years before.

Reflections upon the whole.

But after the History of the Wickedness of These People, it will be Needfull to look a little into the Woe they Wrought us; Or at least, to Compute upon the Calamitous Injelicities of That Season, and Whence they took their Rise. The Man knows little of the History of Our Troubles, that's a Stranger to the Life, Practice, and Character of the Late Earl of Shaftesbury; who had the Wit in All Changes and Revolutions of State, still to Turn Tail to the Weather, and Swim with the Tyde. And he did This too, by Nature, as well as by Application; for, beside the Advantages of a Mercurial Humour, a Ready Tongue, And a Discreet Address, he had none of Those Vulgar Barrs upon him, of Honour, Shame, or Conscience to put any Checque to the Impetuous Course of his Ambitious Lusts: I am not upon the Story of his Life; but it shall serve My Purpose, to say, that thorough All the Usurpations, from Forty to Sixty, he came Sailing down still before the Wind; and so from that time forward, steer'd by the same Compass.

The Character of the Late E. of Shaftesbury.

ON November 17. 1672, His Lordship being already Chancellor of the Exchequer, and one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury was further Advanc'd, by his Majesty to the Keeping of the Great Seal, with the Title of Lord Chancellor of England: And upon the 8th of November 1673. He was Discharg'd of That Commission. Upon the Opening of the Parliament Feb. 5. 1672. His Lordship, in a Large and Elegant Speech, Blesses God, and the King; as follows.

His Manage and Practices.

Let us Bless God that he hath given us such a King: to be the Repairer of our Breaches both in Church, and State, and the Restorer of our Paths to Dwell in; That in the midst of War, and Misery, which Rages in our Neighbours Countrys, our Garners are Full and there is no Complaining in our Streets, &c. Let us Bless God that hath given This King Signally, the Hearts of his People, and most Particularly of This Parliament.

Chancel. Shaftesbury's Speech. Feb. 5. 1672.

Let us Bless the King, for taking away All our Fears, and leaving no room for Jealousies; for those Assurances and Promises he hath made us.

Let us Bless God and the King, that our Religion is Safe; That the Church of England is the Care of our Prince; That Parliaments are Safe; That our Properties and Liberties are Safe. What more hath a Good Englishman to Ask, but that This King may Long Reign, and that This Triple Alliance, of King, Parliament, and People, may never be Dissolv'd.

His Lordships Matters, as yet, went Merrily on, and his Good Humour kept pace with his Good Fortune: But so soon as ever the Wind came about, All these Blessings were thrown over the Left Shoulder: The Clouds began now to Gather, and soon after, to Discharge in a Storm, upon the Heads of Papists and Publique Ministers. In This Mood they brought on the Bill about the Test, whereof Andrew Marvel (for the Honour of his Noble Patron) gives This Account. The Parliament having met the 5th of

A great Stickler for the TEST, EXCLUSION, &c

Growth of Popery. p. 39. & 40.

Feb. 1672. [Prepared an Act before the Mony-Bill Slipt thorough their Fingers, by which the Papists were Obliged to Pass thorough a New State-Purgatory to be Capable of Any Publique Employment.] [Upon this Occasion it was, that the Earl of Shaftsbury, though then Lord Chancellor of England, yet Engaged so far in Defence of That Act, and of the Protestant Religion, that in due time it Cost him his Place, and was the First Moving Cause of all Those Mis-adventures, and Obloquy, which since he lies (ABOVE, not) UNDER.]

Inconsistent with Himself.

IT deserves a Note, the Libellous Deduction Marvel gives the World of the Kings Administration of Affairs, as well Before, as After This Celebrated Exploit of my Lord Shaftsbury's, in a flat Contradiction to his Lordships Character of the King, and to his Report of the Happy, the Safe, and the Peaceable State of the Government; for whoever reads That Pamphlet, will find it only an Artificial Scandal, & Imposture, Cast-out to the Multitude, upon set Purpose to make his Majesty Odious to his People. One would have thought, that the Gaining of the Test-Bill should have set their Hearts, a little at Ease; but That was not sufficient, without calling Feb. 7. 1673. for [Fast upon Fast,] [Raising the Militia,] [Voting down the Guards,] Enquiring into Publique Grievances, &c. which being Said, and Done, with a Noverint Universi, in the Eyes, and Ears of the Nation, is all one, in many Cases, with Ringing the Bells Backward, and Firing the Beacons, as if the Town were a Burning, or an Enemy Landed, and as far as Black-Heath in their March to London. And all, upon the Old, and Everlasting Ground of Jealousy, and Apprehension still; That Address Nov. 3. 1673. is to say, BECAUSE [The Restless Practices of Popish Recusants threaten'd the subversion both of Church and State.]

The Wheel was now in Motion, and they drove like Jehu, 'till they Dropt at last into Ores's Bottomless Plot.

More of his Character.

Shaftsbury had been a long time at the Trade of Fast and Loose; and what with Industry, Craft, Malice, and Experience, the Fittest Man perchance in the Three Kingdoms, to be the Head of a Faction. And he was the Fitter for't, because his very Inclination prompted him to Mischiefe, Even for Mischiefs sake. It was his Way, and his Humour, to Tear All to pieces, where he could not be the First Man in Bus'ness Himself. And yet All this while, his Faculty, was rather a Quirking way of Wit, then a Solidity of Judgment; and he was much Happier at Pulling-down, then at Building-up. In One Word; He was a man of Subtlety, not of Depth; and his Talent was Fancy, rather then Wisdom. His Arts were Popular, and after All his Politiques, he was as great an Hypocrite in his Understanding, as in his Manners; But the Best Incendiary yet, upon the Face of the Earth: for he had an Excellent Invention, and a Protesting Face, without either Faith, or Truth. Now when the Common People are to be Couzen'd, One Imposture puts off Another; and False Conclusions follow Naturally, upon False Premises. This is the Brief of his Character, from those that knew, and understood him Best; and a man cannot do Right to the History, without giving the Next Age a True Account of a Person that had so Great a Hand in the Confusions of This: 'Tis with the Mobile, as with the Waters; the very Blowing upon them, makes them Troublesom, and Dangerous; and in the End, to Overflow their Banks. His Author sets him forth, as the Great Advocate, and Champion for the Bill of the Test, and makes him, Effectually a Martyr, for the Meritorious Services he did in That Act, both to Church, and State. It is most Certain, that he was a great Stickler in't; and it is No less Certain, that he was afterward, as Violent for the Bill of Exclusion; and for Stripping the Roman-Catholic Lords, and Commons, of the Undoubted Privileges of their Birthright; Nay, and of the Common Benefits of Life, Liberty, and Property; either as Reasonable Creatures, or as Members of a Political Body. As to his Protestant Zeal; All the world knows that he was not a man to Burn at stake, for his Religion; and if he Propos'd to himself the same End, in what he did for the Test, and what he did, some years after, for the Plot, the Association and Exclusion, he had undoubtedly in his eye, the Ruine of the King, the Duke of York, and the Monarchy, from First to Last; and Designed the One, as well as the Other, for an Expedient toward the Gaining of his Point. It looks unluckily too, that Marvel should, with the same Breath, so much Extoll, both the Lord, and the Project: for his Whole Book, is a Train of Scandal upon the King, and of Treason, against him, from End to End. The Scribler, and the Peer were Both Men of Parts, They Knew what was for their Turn, and what Not; and it was Impossible for anything to please them, in Government, that was not Pernicious to the State. This appear'd abundantly by the Sequel: For Marvels Pamphlets; and This Peers Practices, were the Main Incentives and Encouragements to the Following Rebellion. To Close This Head; It was the Removal of the Lord, it seems, that brought on the Desperate Apprehensions of Popery; for, his Lordship found no Danger of it at All; and yet No Living for Fear on't; in one and the same Year, without any Visible Cause of Change Intervening. Now when Another Generation shall come to look into the Hurry, and the Distraction of These Times, they cannot but in Reason, presume, that there was some Mighty Bus'ness in't, to Produce such Wonderfull Effects: Little Imagining, that Ores's Popish Monstrous Snake in the Grass, should be found at last to be but a Glow-worm. But now to the State of the Kingdom, upon the coming of This Blasphemous Saviour of the Nation, into the World.



*A Short View of the Miseries that this Plot brought upon us.*

I am at a loss, in the *Infinite Variety of Miseries* that I have now before me, Where to *Begin*. Here's *Soul*, and *Body*, *Life*, *Liberty*, and *Estate*; *Peace of Mind*, *Religion*, *Reputation*, *Charity*, *Truth*, and *Justice*, All, in fine, that can be Dear to a Nation, to a Christian, or to a Man; to the *Present Age*, or to *Posterity*; All This, I say, at stake, and *All These Privileges, Interests, Rights, and Duties*; Swallowed up in a *Licentious*, and *Abandon'd Contempt*, and *Violation of All Obligations, Sacred, and Profane*.

How many People had we, that under the *Temptations of Fear, Avarice, Malice, Revenge*, In *Soul & Body*. *Envy, Ambition, Sold themselves to Work Wickedness*: play'd the *Hypocrites with God* and the *King*; and *Betray'd them Both*, under the *Masque of Loyalty*, and *Religion*! How many *Instances* had we, of people that had no *Other Choice* before them, but either to *Hang*, or *Damn*: and of persons that made their *Election, some the One way*, and *some the Other*! Only so much *Money Ca? in* on the *Swearing-side*, as if it had been upon an *Estimate*, betwixt the *Body*, and the *Soul*, to make the *Scales Even*. And so much for *Soul and Body*. Now to Proceed.

How many *Lives* taken away by *Perjury*, and *Subornation*; And what *Security* had In *Life*. Any man for his *[Life]*, when the Kingdom ran as *Quick of False Witnesses*, as a *Cory-Warren of Rabbits*, and Every mans *Breath* lay at the *Mercy* of a *Couple of Reprobated Villains*!

Where was the *Free born Subjects [Liberty]*, When the *Kings Witnesses* were only the In *Liberty*. *Re-publicans Beagles*, to *Draw Dry-Foot*, to the *Door of Every Honest*, or but *Suspected Honest Man*: When *Priest-Hunters*, and *Prince-Hunters*, were *One and the Same sort of People*? What an *Intelligence* was there betwixt the *Evidences*, and the *Catch-Poles*? When *Knights of the Post Made more Rogues*, then the *Government* had provided *Prisons* to *Receive them*: When the *English of [Resolv'd upon the Question]*, was only *[Take him Taylor]*. When *Mistresses* ran without *Cause shown*, and *Commitments*, as *Arbitrary as the Keepers Fees*. When men were *Taken-up*, and *Spirited away*, without *Warrants*, and made *Slaves* contrary to *Law*.

What *Title* had any man to his *[Estate]*, when a *Pair of Affidavit-Sparks*, ( *March'd* In *Estate*. like *Indemnities* ) could *Swear him Out on't*? When *Guineys* pass'd for *Popish Medalls*; *Crucifixes* for the *Reliques of Superstition*: *Choice*, and *Historical Pictures*, in *Honour*, and *Memoriall of the Christian Profession*; When *These Paintings*, I say, went for the *Remains of Idolatry*? When *Ordinary Drinking-Plate* pass'd for *Chalices*; and men were *Ris'd*, *Robb'd*, and *Undone*, by the *Basest of Felons*, under the *Masque of Zeal*, and *Conscience*? This was *Undenably*, our *Condition*, in the *Matters of Life, Liberty, and Estate*.

Now to the *Next Point*, of *[Peace of Mind]*. What could be more *Miserable*, then In *Peace of Mind*. to live in *Perpetual Fears, Jealousies, Frights, and Alarums*? In *fear*, for the *Kings Life*; the *Protestant Religion*; The *Peace of the Government*, *Tyranny*, *Popery*, *Slavery*. In *fear* for *Souls, Bodies, and Fortunes*, *Fires, Massacres, Portugal-Black-Bills*, and *Smithfield-Faggots*; In *fear* of *All* that it was *Possible* for us to *Lose*, or to *Suffer*; and under an *Inchreable Jealousie* of our *Governours*, and our *Friends*, that they meant to *Betray us*, and to bring *All These Evils* upon us? And so for *Frights, and Alarums*. Our *Danger* was to come from *All Quarters of the Heavens*. *College Searches the Cellars in the Palace-Yard*, for *fear of Gunpowder*. There was the *Black-Heath Army*; The *Purbeck-Invasion*; The *City-Guards* to be *Doubled*; *Shaftsbury*, and *Tonge* to be *Murder'd*, as *Godfrey* was: And what did they say, for *All This* now? Why! the *Pulpits* are *Wise*; and They tell of *Squibs, and Fire-Balls*, to make *Sport for the Philistins*. Such a *Lord* sat up *All right*, with his *Pistols and Blunderbusses* about him, for *fear of a Rising*. The *House* knew what they *Did*, when they *Voted the Guards* to be a *Grievance*, and the *Militia* to be *Rais'd* at a *Days Warning*. What ( *Peace of Mind* ) could there Be; or rather, What *Horror of Thought*, did not they *Endure*, that liv'd under the *Continual Agony of These Terrors*.

Neither were we one jot more at *Ease* in the *Matter of [Religion]*, for they *Bely'd* the very *Religion* that they *pretended* to; and the *Practices of the Faction*, ran directly In *Religion*. *Counter to All the Precepts of the Gospel*. *Treachery* was call'd *Truth*, and *Faith*. *Slander* was only *Liberty of Speech*. *Perjury*, was *Hallow'd* by the *Lips* and *Credit* of a *Kings Evidence*. *Forgery* (if *Detected*) was but a *Mistake*. *Rebellion*, a *True-Protestant Association*: A *Shamur-Narrative*, pass'd for the *Discovery of a Damnable Jewish Popish Plot*; and the *People* were *Swor'd up*, and *Instructed to Hate*, and *Persecute the Papists*, in *Despise of the Evangelical Precept*, that bids us *[Love one Another]*. *Subornation* was *Authoriz'd* under the *Title of Reward*; *Murder* was recommended under the *Varnish of Publique Justice*. *Attestment* was a kind of a *Qualification* for a man of *Interest*, in *This Matter*; because, they were to *Talk of God*, and at the same *Time*, make a *Mock* of the *Belief* of any such *Power*; and it was *Requisite*, that the *Hardness of their Hearts* should be *Proof* against the *Sense of Divine Vengeance*, and *Justice*. There was no *Room* left for *Christian Charity*, when Every *Papist* was to *Suffer* for the *Principles of his Party*; and when they could *Make Those Principles* to be *whatever* *Themselves pleas'd*. In *All their Holy Leagues, Vows, Covenants, and Associations*, they have *This* to say for *Themselves*, that the *Hypocrite is of No Religion*; and *Consequently*, that *[The Lifting up of their Hands unto the Lord]*, and their *Solemn Promises [In the Presence of God]* are of *No more Force* upon *people*, that do not *Acknowledge a God*, then the *Oath of a Jew* upon the *Four Evangelists*.

In Reputation.

In the Matter of Reputation; How have we Lost our selves, at Home, and Abroad, by Believing Things, (upon Second Thoughts) Incredible, and [Believing] too; upon the Testimony of Known Falsaries, and Blasted Criminals! By setting the Evidence of Common Hissings and Scoundrells, against the Character, the Try'd Faith, Integrity, and Incomestable Loyalty, of Men of Honour! The King, the Queen, the Duke, and so many other Illustrious Persons, on the One side, to be Confronted by Miscreants, on the Other; not to be Nam'd in the Same Page! How have we Expos'd the Dignity of our very Profession, to make it a Point of Conscience to work so Great a Villany! An Instance of our Zeal, to Pursue it into so many Barbarous Extremities; and, which is more then All; to Cast a Protestant Cover over One of the Lewd-st Impieties that ever was under the Sun, and to make it an Impulse of our Religion, which was only a Perjurious Conspiracy of State! It has Lost us to the Present Age throughout the Christian World; for the King receiv'd not so much as one Complement of Gratulation, from any of the Forreign Ministers, for his Deliverance; which would have been Otherwise, if any of them had Believ'd it! It leaves us Expos'd likewise, to After-Times; Especially, Considering that so great Care has been taken by Some for the Transmitting of the Imposture; and so Little, by Others, for the Propagating, and Confirming of the Truth.

In Charity.

And now again we are as much Lost in the Offices of Charity, Truth, and Justice. This Plot has turn'd Religion into a Faction; and the Animosity which it has begot in us toward Roman Catholiques, has utterly Extinguish'd the Love, and Veneration, we Owe to Christianity it self.

Truth.

As to the Next Point; Truth and Falshood have Chang'd Places; and, according to the Mode of the Times, the very Quality of it is Inverted too. [Truth] is Ridiculing the Witnesses; Invalidating the Plot; Arraigning the Justice of the Nation; and Popery in a Disguise; whereas Falshood, or Perjury is a Thing to Bless God for; a Miraculous Discovery; a Subject to beg a Pension upon; a Wonderful Service to the Protestant Religion; and what was This Plot, at last; but a Blasphemous Slandorous Imagination, made up of Lies, and Contradictions? as I shall set forth by and By.

And Justice.

Now, over and above all the Rest; How was the Justice of the Nation, Abus'd, and Impos'd-upon by the Trumperies of Confederacy, and Practice; even to the Confounding of Right and Wrong; Good, and Evil; and Inverting the very Order, and Equity of Reward, and Punishment! How many Innocent Men were Clapt-up, and Kept, upon Unconscionable Expence, 'till all they had left in the World was little enough to Clear the Charge of the Prison: without Any Cause Assign'd; without ever being brought to know their Accusers, or their Accusation; and forc'd to Content themselves, (upon their Humble Petition) with the Hope of a Mercifull Vote, in the Conclusion, for their Discharge, [Paying their Fees] without any Reparation; while Suborners, and False-Witnesses, Pester'd the Lobbys Bareilac'd, with their Crimes as Open, as if they had been Writ in their Foreheads: So Sacred was Villany, and so Hazardous was it for any man to do his Duty. 'Tis True, that upon the First Springing of This Cause, a man might for want of Judgment, Thought, or Foresight, Charitably, and Innocently enough be Mistaken, or Mistaken. The Evidence was Positive, and Bold; the Fact Horrid; so many Conspirators of Quality, to Countenance the Tale, and Formalities of the Law, in favour of the Witnesses. But yet afterward, when the Masque came to be Taken-off, and the whole Webb of the Villany to be Unravel'd; the Justice of the Nation did Then Suffer, I say, in the Opinion of the World, for not doing Immediate Right upon these Miscreants, to a Distracted State, and People: to the Orphans, and the Widows, that these Forsworn Wretches had made, and to the Innocent Bloud that cry'd for Vengeance. It gave them some sort of Reputation, to let 'em Triumph so long in their Wickedness; Insomuch, that a Friend of mine Burnt his Fingers in the Case of Ores, even for bringing the Bear to the Stake, at Last. Why This will Destroy the whole Plot, they Cry'd, as if the leaving of a Nest Egg would have been such a Comfort to the Nation. I speak in This Place, rather of Publique, then of Private, and Personal Justice; for the Indignities they put upon the Government, were Infinitely above the Injuries, of here and there a Member of it: for they Swore the Monarchy it self to Death, as well as the Papists. They Embroid'd the Order, and they Unsettled the Foundations of it. Under Colour of Securing the Kings Person, they Cramp'd his Prerogative; and took away peoples Inheritances, for fear of their Religion, How many Incapacities, and Disabilities have we seen Created upon the Same Score? Now I take the Reason of the Case,

The Case holds betwixt a Cheat at Play, and a Cheat of State. betwixt a Private Cheat, and a Publique, to be much the-Same. If a man Wins my Money by False Dice, and I can Prove it, I'll have my Money again: and why should not this Equity hold as well now, in the Case of a Factions getting any thing from a Government, by the Help of False Witnesses. There's a Plot Affirm'd, Warranted, and Sworn. We shall lose our Prince, they Cry, our Religion, Laws, Liberties, and Liberties, unless we have such and such Rags put into our hands, to Prevent, or to Disappoint, the Danger. The Yielding, on the One side, is, in Confidence, and upon Condition of such a Desperate Plot, on the Other. Now if there be No Plot, there's No Bargain: Nay, and 'tis a Worse Matter Yet; if what was Demanded for a Security against One Devilish Plot, shall Appear Evidently to be Intended, and Apply'd, toward the Promoting, and the Strengthening of, Another. A Lapidary sells me at a Horrible Price, That which He Warrants for a Ruby of the Old Rack; I Buy it of him accordingly. Now if it prove afterward, to be only a Past, or a Doublet; My Remedy is good against him. But shall Equity Relieve a Private Man, in a Cheat of Trade, and will there lye No Relief, for a Whole Politique Body, against a Cheat of State? Especially, where there's Mischiefe, and Premeditate-Malice, Super-added to the Fraud: That is to say; where the Pretended Means of Preserving the Kings Person, and Enlarg'd for his Destruction. In such Instances as these, Common Justice requires that Matters may be put into the State they were in, before; for otherwise,



otherwise, it will lye in the Power of a Brace of *Prostitute Knaves*, to Swear the Government off the Hinges. To Conclude; This *Impious Dissolution of Faith, and Good Manners*, made the Kingdom as *Miserable*, as 'twas possible to be, without *Plague, Sword, Pestilence, and Famine*; and *All*, Charg'd upon the Account of the *Papists*, by the *Fairons* and the *Instruments* of the *Opposite Interest*.

Upon the Whole Matter, we have had *Saying, and Swearing*, Abundantly, (and Nothing else) in *Affirmance* of the *Popish Plot*. Not so much as a *Letter*, not a *Commission* Produc'd, to Help a *Lame Dog* over the *Style*; Not so much as *One Paper* found, upon the *Strictest Search* of *Popish Houses, Lodgings, Boxes and Cabinets* (*Colemans Letters Excepted*) to *Countenance* the *Evidence*; Not a *Conspirator* Take*n* in the *Manner*; nor so much as *One Material Witness* in the *Cause*, that did not *Open* for *Head and Reward*, and *Get* the very *Price* of his *Damnation*: His *Pardon Secur'd* him in the *False Accusing* of *Himself*, and his *Allowance* *Encourag'd* him, in as *False a Testimony* against *Others*: Whereas the *Proceedings* on the *Otherhand*, were only *One Continu'd Series* of *Useless Importunities, Expofulation, Slander, and Tumult*.

There was a *Great Strelaid*, 'tis *True*, upon *Mr Colemans Letters*; which, in respect of his *Pragmatical Intermeddling* in *Matters of State* of so *Great Moment*; Together with *Several Indelicacies* in the *Wording* of them, are not, upon any *Terms*, to be *Defended*. Whoever knew him *Well*, knew him to be a *Forward Zealous Man*, in *His way*; and upon *That Consideration*, I told a *Gentleman* of *Great Honour*, and my *Particular Friend*, the *Apprehensions* I had (when he was just *Taken-up*, and before Any of his *Papers* were *Seiz'd*) of the *Inconveniences*, that his *Careless, and Un wary Way of Writing, and Keeping Papers* by him, would bring upon the *Whole Party*, if they Search'd *His Study*: For, to be sure, *Things* would be *Interpreted* at the *Worst*. So I *Said*, and so it *Provd*: But it was not upon the *Plot* of his *Letters*, but upon the *Plot* that *Otes* and *Bedloe* *swore* against him, that *He suffer'd*: So that even *supposing* the *Worst* that can be *Imagin'd*, of his *Letters*, he *Dyd* yet, upon the *Oaths* of *Two Perjur'd Varnishers*; That is to say; if *Otes's Plot* was an *Imposture*: For, *Colemans Plot* could have *No Relation* at all to a *Plot* that had no *Being*. His *Main Business* was, to get *Money*, for the *Entertainment* of his *Humour*, in an *Expensive Train, and Equipage*: To *That End* he *Got* it; and in *That Way* he *Spent*, by much the *Greater Part* of it. His *Presence* was the *Graffing* of *Members*, in order to the *Service* of the *French Interest*, and to *Try* what might be *Done*, toward the *Dissolving* of the *Parliament*, and *procuring Liberty of Conscience*. [The *Subterfuge* and *Subduing* of the *Petulant Southern Heretic*] in one of his *Letters* to *Mr L: Chaise*, was a *Rude*, and a *Dangerous Expression*, but not *Osculator* a-kin yet, to his *Privy* or *Approbation*, of *Grover*, and *Pickersings Shooting the King*, or the *Design* of the *Four Russians*, that was *Sworn* against him by *Otes*; and the *10000 l.* to *Sir George Wakeman*, for *Poysoning his Majesty*: as was given in *Testimony* upon the *Oath* of *Bedloe*. In fine; *Colemans Letters* were but *Brass Grains* Cast into the *Scale*, to help out *Light Gold*, and to make the *Other Evidence* *Weight*.

Saying and Swearing.

Mr. Colemans Letters.

These *Letters* of *Mr. Coleman*, and the *Somerset-House Gambole* upon *Sr. Edmund-bury Godfrey*, I look upon as the *Two Stilts* of the *Crippled-Plot*. They have neither *Life*, nor *Sense* in 'em. But without many *Words* in *This Place*, I have *Some Thoughts*, and *Hopes*, of giving the *World* such an *Account* of the *History* of *That Fantastical Murder*; (That is to say, if my *Life, and Health* will give me *Leave*), as it shall be *No longer a Question*, how he came by his *End*. For I have *Materials* now by me, upon the *Oaths* of *Unquestionable Witnesses*, not only to *Trace* the *Matter of Fact*, from *End to End*, (Being the *Proof* of the very *Stroke* it self) but to lay *Open* a *Great Part* of the *Practice*, in the *Manage* of the *Proceeding*, for the *making* of a *Popular Cause* on't. I shall shew, how *Evidences* were *Stifled, Disguis'd, Rejected, Unfaithfully set down*, and as *Unfaithfully Reported*: And though the *Contradictions* of the *Witnesses* to the *Murder*, over and above *Common sense, and Reason*, might serve to *Convict* All *Mortalls* of the *Iniquity* of *This Juggle*; I shall yet make *Those Inconsistencies* the *Least Part* of *My Business*. This is enough to say at present; *Saying* only, that I do no more doubt of his *Falling* upon his *Sword* in the *Place* where the *Body* was *found*, then I do of *Any thing* in *Nature*, which I *my self* did not see the *doing* of.

Colemans Story & Godfreys the Two Stilts of the Plot.

That there was a *Plot*, no man in his *Right Wits* can pretend to *Doubt*; and if *Otes's Narrative* was a *Sham*, it self, there was *Some Other Plot* in the *Setting-up* of *That Plot*; and a *Plot* that was to be *Carry'd on*, under the *Cover* of the *Counterfeit*. We cannot find any *Trace*, or *Foot-steps* of *That same Popish Plot*, more than from the *Incredible Enforcements* of *Incredible Mercenaries*: The very *Matter*, and the *Man*, being *Equally a Scandal* to the *Chibence*; and the *Characters* of the *Accusers*, and the *Accused*, as *Contrary* one to the *Other*, as *Light* is to *Darkness*. There's *Infamy* *Oppos'd* to *Honour*; *Perjury* to *Faith*, *Bale* to *Doble*; and in short, the *Scum*, and *Dreggs*, of the *Nation*, for the *Accusers*, and the very *Pillars* of the *Monarchy*, for the *Traytors*. Let no man say *Miracles* are *Ceas'd*; and *Swallow This*. He that has the *Faith* to *Believe*, that so many *Prostitute Criminals*, became *Men of Integrity, and Conscience*, all in an *Instant*; and *Believe This* too, upon their own *Bare Words* for't, against the *Habitual*, and the *Persevering Lewdness* of their *Lives*, and *Conversations*, to *Prove* the *Contrary*: He, I say, that could *Believe This*, on the *One hand*; and *Then*, that so many *Persons* of *Eminent, and Exemplary Worth, and Dignity*, All, in the *Same Moment*, should *Turn Apostates*, on the *Other*, might as well be *Impos'd* upon, to *Believe*, that the *Fall'n Angels* have *Recover'd* their *Primitive Station*; and that the *Glorious Spirits*, that have stood *Firm* ever since their *Creation*, have now *Joyn'd* in a *Rebellion* against their *Maker*. If a man may *Collect* any thing,

A Plot, under a Plot.

from *Strong Presumptions, Improbabilities Immeasurable*, the Principal Abettors of Otes's Spurn Plot for the Saving of the King, were, *Themselves, Conspirators in an Under-Plot for the Destroying of him*: and there needs no more, for a Final Proof of This, then a Short Summary of what I have Deliver'd already.

Confusion, and change of Government Design'd.

They did all they could, to leave the King neither *MONT, POWER, CREDIT, nor FRIENDS*: To Strip him both of his *Parliamentary*, and his *Patronage* Prerogative; the Command of his *Militia*, and the Choice of his *Officers*: They made it *Penal* even to *Assert* his *Regalities*, or come *Near* his *Person*; and when they had gone as far, as the *Plot*, and *Popery* would *Carry* them, they *Joy'd* in an *Express League of Association* to take up *Arms* against the *King Himself*, and to lay *Violent Hands* upon the *Government*: So that as they *Began* with the *Necessity* of *Excluding* the *Duke*, for fear of the *Plot*; They *Ended*, in the *Opinion* of as *Absolute a Necessity*, of *Dissolving* the *Monarchy* for fear of the *King*. By *These Methods*, they proceeded, from *Bad*, to *Worse*; 'till they had pass'd, *Gradually* thorough all the *Degrees* of a *Seditious Progress*, from the *Hypocritical* *Pre-ence* of a *Tenderness* for the *Life* of their *Sovereign*, to the *Last Peremptory Determination* of taking the *Crown* off from his *Head*. If either *Thought, Word, or Deed, Project, Contrivance, or Execution* might pass for the *Proof* of any thing, here is a *Plot* under a *Plot*, made as *Clear as Truth* it self: A *Plot* in a *Westminster-Committee*, as well as in a *Kings-Head-Club*. There was all done by the *Plotting Part* of them, toward the *Ruine* of the *King*, that *Spite, Art, and Industry* were *Able* to do. [ *Were the Knights &c.* ] in the *Association*, was, in *Plain English* [ *We the Conspirators* ; ] for the *Members* of the *Present Sitting Parliament* took upon *Themselves* the *Authority* of *Subduing, Expelling, and Destroying*; *Issuing* out of *Orders*, and *Raising* of *Forces*; Or in case of being *Prorog'd* or *Dissolv'd*, the *Majority* of the *Subscribing Members*, were like *Cromwells Major-Generals* again, to *Govern* in the *Counties, Cities, and Burroughs*, for which they were *Chosen*. Now the *Bus'ness*, had never come to an *Association*, it seems, if his *Majesty* would have *Hearken'd* to his *Parliaments*; for [ *the Danger* was timely *foreseen* (they say) by *several Parliaments*. ] And [ *Notwithstanding* all the *Continual* *Endeavours* of *Parliaments* to *Deliver* his *Majesty* from the *Councils*, and out of the *Power* of the *said Duke of York*, *Yet his Interest, &c.* ] [ *Even in Opposition* to the *Advice and Order* of the *Last Parliament*. ] And so again, [ *We have Endeavour'd* in a *Parliamentary-Map*, to *Bar, Exclude, and Banish* him for *ever, &c.* ] [ *But the first Means* of the *King and Kingdoms* *Waf'ty* being *Rejected, &c.* ] [ *We have thought fit* to *Propose* an *Union* of *Mutual Defence, and Assistance, &c.* ] From hence it appears that they *Aim'd* at the *Same Thing* upon the *Main*, in their *Votes*; and *Addresses*, that they did in the *Association*; and that they were *Both Govern'd* by the *same Influence*; and that the whole *Tract* was but the *same Conspiracy*. So that it is now somewhat a *Clearer Case*, *Who* they were that *Design'd* the *Murder* of the *King*, then *Who Burnt London* (the *Opinion* of the *House*, *Jan. 10. 1680.* notwithstanding) It would be *Pleasant enough* (if it were not almost *Inhumane* to take any *Pleasure* in a *Discourse* upon this *Subject*) to see how *Direct* a *Counter-part* the *Truth* of the *Story* was to the *Fiction*; for *They Themselves* were to do all those *Things*, which they *charg'd* upon the *Papists*. There were to be *Sham-Plots, Cutting* of *Throats*, and *Burning* of *Towns*. How did they *Tamper*, and *Practice* with the *Witnesses, Bribes, Suborn, Forswear!* All these *Things* were laid at the door of the *Papists*, while they *Design'd*, and *Did* those very *Things Themselves*. [ *Witnesses* (says Nov. 29. 1680. the *Address*) are *Attempted* to be *Corrupted* and not only *Promises* of *Reward*, but of the *favours* of your *Majesties Brother* made the *Motives* to their *Compliance*. ] Was not this the very *Course* they took with *Otes*, with *France*, with *Fitz-Harris*? and briefly what were *All* their *Mediations* for? Their *Secret Examinations, Importunities* for *Reward, Recommendations* to *Demerits*; and the *Good Word* of the *Committee Kill*. In their *favour*? What was all *This*, I say, but the *same Saddle* set upon the *Wrong Horse*. [ *Divers* of the most *Considerable* of your *Protestant Subjects* have *Crimes* of the *Highest Nature* *Forged* against them; the *Charge* to be *Supported* by *Subornation, and Perjury*, that they may be *Destroy'd* by *Forms of Law and Justice*. ] Was not *This* the very *Case* of the *Duke*, the *Lords*, and other *Persons* of *Honour*, and *Quality*? Were not the *Priests, the Jesuits*, and the *Other Priests* upon the *Account* of the *Plot*: *Outrag'd* at their *Tryals* in the very *face* of the *Bench*, by the *Scooms*, and *Exclamations* of the *Rabble*? When the *Insolencies* of the *Mob*, (to the *Scandal* of That *Popular License*) made it like a *Bear-Garden*, then a *Court of Justice*? And then, when *False Witnesses* had *Suppress'd*, and *Out-faced* the *Truth*, and *Sham'd* the *Imposture*, both upon *Bench*, and *Jury*; the *Authority* of *Four Parliaments* is *Vouch'd* for the *Credit* of the *Abuse*. Nay the *Invention* was so *Pompous* a piece of *Trumpery*, that, *Effectually*, they made it a kind of *Raw-head and Bloudy-Bones*, to the *Common People* [ *We can only ascribe it* (they say) to an *Over-ruling Providence*, that your *Majesties Reign* is still *Continu'd* over us; and that we are yet *Assembled* to *Consult* the *Means* of our *Preservation*. ] As who should say; 'tis e'en a *Miracle* that we have not had *All our Throats Cut in our Beds*, by *These Bloudy-Papists*: When yet all this while, not so much as a *Popish Mouse* durst peep out of his *Hole*, for fear of an *Evidence* or a *Catch-pole*, for they had their *State-Wheelzels* *Ferretting* up and down in every *Corner*.

A Short History of Otes.

As for *Otes* now, that was no man of *Form*, and *Ceremony*, but according to *M. Hunts* *Quaint Character* of him, rather [ *Incurious*, ] and [ *Apert* ] the said *Mr Otes*, I say never stood upon the *Scruple* of the *Parenthesis* in the *Revengeing Vote* [ *WHICH GOD FORBID* ] but like a *Son of Thunder*, call'd a *shade a shade*; and by the *Dint* of *Oaths*, and *Maledictions*, *Carry'd* *Three Kingdoms* before him: A *Plain Blunt Man*, they cry'd; He did not love to *Mince matters*; *This* was his *Character*. He was for *Freedom* of *Speech*, and so it appear'd, upon the *Executing*



Executing of a Writ of Enquiry, at the Bar of the Kings-Bench at Westminster, June 19. 1684. The Duke of York having brought an Action against him upon the Statute *De Scandalis Magnatum*: But we'll see some of his Flowers there.

**T**He Duke of York's a Traytor, (says he) fol. 9. A Rascal, a Papist; and a Traytor, fol. 17. A Traytor, (again) and in the Plot. 19. He shall be hang'd, fol. 13. I shall Live to see him hang'd, fol. 16. And hang'd, fol. 17. We'll have no more regard for him, then if he were a Scabenger of Kent-street, fol. 14. I hope to see him at the Bar of the House of Commons, where there are many Better men then he. p. 14. 15. If the Devil has a Place in Hell Hotter then Other, I hope he will Bestow it upon him. fol. 18.]

The Account of the manner of Executing a Writ of Enquiry, &c.

**O**Tes was a Free-spoken Man, we see; and there's an End on't. His Trust was in That Part of the Parliament, that put their Trust in Him; who were so far from Checking him for These Insolencies, that They Carep'd, and Encourag'd him; And his Evidence, forsooth, Aon'd for his Sawciness: But all Liberties against the Government were at that Time Indulg'd; and whatsoever serv'd, either to make his Majesty Cheap, or Odious, was Wellcome to them. What was the Printing of the Votes; Addresses, and Colemans Letters for; but to Expose the King, under the Colour of Enforming the People? They saw how Audaciously Otes Treated His Majesty Himself, & how he Bely'd his Own Narrative, by bringing His Royall Highness into the Plot; after a [So help me God] that the Duke was Not in the Plot: Nay that he was to be Murder'd as well as the King; and that the Jesuites had no Hope of Gaining him, Beside a Further Oath at the Lords Bar, Oct. 30. 1678. That he believ'd the Duke Innocent. If This Wretch had not been made use of as an Instrument toward the Compassing of his Patrons Ends, he would have been Deliver'd over to Everlasting Infamy, & Exemplary Punishment. So Impudent, & so Blaspheinous an Impostor, upon the very Point of Morality, and Example, would never have been Endur'd; But his Bus'ness was only to Quest and Spring to his Masters, while they were to Fly at the Game. No man that had not Design'd Ruine, and Dishonour to the Royal Family, would ever have Countenanc'd him at this rate. The very Sufferance did Sufficiently Manifest the Good-Will they had to what Otes was then a doing. Upon the Whole Bus'ness; it is as Clear as Noon-day, that the Narrative-Plot was a Cheat; and that [We-the-Knights-Plot,] was a Formal, an Impious, and a Desperate Conspiracy. This is Clear, I say, from the very Acts, and Instruments of the Defenders, and Supporters of the One, and likewise, from the Harmony of their Co-operating Endeavours toward the Accomplishing of the Other. But to come to the Root; the Mother-Plot was the Pretended Consult, at the White-Horse in the Strand; on the 24th. of April, 1678. where the Bloody Resolution was Taken; and the Resale Carry'd about by Otes, from House to House, as if there had been no more in't, then the Gathering of a Parish-Tax. Take away that Consult, and the Babel lies in the Dust.

His Insolencies Encourag'd.

See Otes's Narrative. fol. 15. & 64. And Pickering's Tryal. fo. 22.

### Otes Try'd, and Convict of Two Perjuries.

**I**N the 7th Year of Otes's Reign; That is to say, upon the 8th and 9th Days of May, 1685. Otes was brought to his Tryal, upon Two Indictments, for Wilfull, Malicious, and Corrupt Perjury, at the Kings-Bench-Bar at Westminster, before the Lord-Chief-Justice Jeffreys, and the rest of the Judges of That Court. The Former; [for Swearing in Irelands Tryal, that there was a Treasonable Consult of the Jesuites held at the White-Horse in the Strand. Ap. 24. 1678. And that He himself was Present.] And the Other; [for Swearing that Mr. Ireland, (who had been already put to Death upon Otes's Testimony) was in London upon the First or Second of September 1678. And likewise for Swearing That He took his leave of him at his Chamber in Russel-street, between the Eighth and Twelfth of August, 1678.] He was found Guilty upon Both Indictments: The Former, by the Testimony of [Two and Twenty Witnesses, that Swore Directly, that he was Not here in London, the 24th of April, 1678.] And not only so; but [They Swore Directly that he was in another Place, at That Time.] I had the Honour to take their Enforcements, my self, and I reckon it my Duty to do them Right, upon This Occasion, in saying (over and above the Eminent Quality of the Persons) that it was Impossible for Men to be Tenderer, or more Scrupulously Cautious in what they Swore. He was Convicted likewise, the Second Day, upon the Testimony of Forty Seven Witnesses, and most of them Persons of a very Considerable Character. Tryal p. 52. Now if Otes was not in London, the Plot falls, and All the Branches of it, and the Superstructures upon it, go for Nothing. This in short, was the Seed Plot, that brought forth All the Rest.

Otes's Tryal upon the Consult fol. 77. Otes's Second Tryal. fol. 44.

Otes's Tryal fol. 87.

After this General Account of the Tryals, and Convictions of this Perjur'd Wretch, I'll Conclude, with his Sentence at Large, as it was Pronounc'd by Mr Justice Wubens, on the 26th of May, 1685.

### Otes's Sentence.

**F**irst, The Court does Order for a Fine; That you pay a Thousand Marks upon Each Indictment.

Secondly, That you be Stript of all your Canonical Habits.

Thirdly, The Court does Award, That you Stand Upon the Pillory, and In the Pillory, here before Westminster-Hall-Gate, upon Monday next, for an Hours time, between the Hours of Ten and Twelve, with a Paper over your Head, (which you must first walk with, round about all the Courts in Westminster-Hall) declaring your Crime. And That is upon the First Indictment.

Fourthly, (On the Second Indictment.) Upon Tuesday, You shall stand Upon and In the Pillory, at the Royal Exchange in London, for the Space of an Hour, between the Hours of Twelve and Two; with the same Inscription.

*You shall upon the Next Wednesday, be Whipt from Aldgate to Newgate.*

*Upon Fryday, You shall be Whipt from Newgate to Tyburn, by the Hands of the Common Hang-man.*

But Mr Otes we cannot but remember, there were several Particular Times you Swore False about: And therefore, as Annual Commemorations, that it may be known to all People, as long as you Live; we have taken Special Care of you, for an Annual Punishment.

*Upon the 24th of April, Every Year, as long as you live, you are to stand Upon the Pillory, and In the Pillory, at Tyburn, just Opposite to the Gallows, for the space of an Hour, betwixt the Hours of Ten and Twelve.*

*You are to Stand Upon and In the Pillory, here at Westminster-Hall-Gate, every Ninth of August in every Year, so long as you Live: And that it may be known what we mean by it, 'tis to remember, what he Swore about Mr Irelands being in Town between the Eighth, and the Twelfth of August.*

*You are to Stand Upon, and In the Pillory, at Charing-Cross, on the 10th of August, every Year during your Life, for an Hour, between Ten and Twelve.*

*The Like over against the Temple-Gate, upon the Eleventh.*

*And upon the Second of September, (which is Another Notorious Time, which you cannot but be remember'd of) You are to Stand Upon, and In the Pillory, for the space of One Hour, between Twelve and Two, at the Royal-Exchange: And all This you are to do Every Year, during your Life; and to be Close Prisoner as long as you Live.*

A Villany, and a Scandal beyond Example.

There was never any Government upon the face of the Earth, perhaps, that Labour'd so long, under the Scandal of Oppression, Cruelty, and Injustice, upon the Testimony of so Infamous, so Sottish, and so Despicable an Impostor: Never so many Persons of Honour met in a Court to give Evidence, toward the Confounding of so Contemptible a Misdemeanor: Never was any Perjury made-out by so many Unquestionable Witnesses, and Demonstrative Proofs; & yet for the Honour of the Criminal, it must not be Forgotten, how he stood his Ground to the Last.

Otes's Appeal.  
Otes Trial p. 76

[I Appeal (says he) to the Great God of Heaven and Earth, the Judge of All; and once more in his Presence, and before all This Assembly, I show my Evidence of the Popish Plot All and every Part of it, to be nothing but True, and will expect from the Almighty God, the Vindication of my Integrity and Innocence.]

The bewitch'd of his Life & Conversation.

His Last Effort of his from any Other Lips, would have Stagger'd a man, if the Exact, and Wonderfull Agreement of the Testimonies against him, and the Palpable Contradictions of his Own Witnesses, had left any Possibility for Doubting: But from a fellow so Flagitious, in the Habit, and through the Whole Course of his Life; This Last-Defiance of Gods Power, and Justice, compar'd with the Ordinary Course of his Conversation and Manners, did but serve to make the Man All of a piece. The Practice & Attempts of Bestiality upon his own Servants; (after he was prefer'd from a Street-Begger, to be a Kings Evidence) the Falseness of his Malicious Oath against Parker at Hastings; His taking the Holy Sacrament over and over so many times, for a Cover to his Venemous Treasons; These, and the Like, are Things so Certain, and so Notorious, that no Mortal that knows his Person, can be a Stranger to his Villany. My Lord Chief Justice says, indeed, that [There was a Consult; and there was a Conspiracy, against the Life of our King, our Government, & our Religion. Not a Consult at the White-Horse in the Strand, but a Caball, and Association of Perfidious Rebels, & Traytors, who had a mind to Embroil us in Blood and Confusion.] This is the very Truth, and may serve for the Winding-up of That Point. There was most Indubitably, a Republican-Plot, as has been made appear from the Express Acts of the Plotters Themselves; and Trac'd through Every Step of the Proceeding, from the very Project, & Foundation of it, to the Last Resolve of putting it in Execution. But This Plot was to be Call'd a Popish Plot; according to the True Intent, and Meaning of the Revenging Vow; which, by Interpretation, was no more then This, That the True-Prottestants were to Kill the King, and the Popish to be hang'd for it.

### Our Accounts Cast-up, whether we have Got, or Lost by the PLOT.

WE are now at the Bottom of This Bottomless Business, and we should do very well, and like Sober Men, and Good Managers of our Honour, Time, Peace, and Money, to Compute a little upon matters. So much for Double Guards; So much for Treating the Kings Witnesses; So much among Church-poles; So much in Pensions; So much for a Fond to Defray Plot-Charges; So much in Narratives; So much in Riches, and Pore-Burnings; So much to Re-imburse Otes & Beiloe, the Seven Hundred Pound & more they were out of Pocket for the Protestant Cause; So much upon Well-affect'd Elections; So much in Ignoramus Juris; But Discounting All this while, for what we have Receiv'd from the Quartermaster-Intendant-Officers, upon the Whole Charge: and in One word; to see at the Foot of the Account, (Paper and Pack-Thrid pay'd for) whether we have Got or Lost by Partner-Ship with Otes, and his Adherents, and Abettors, in This Royal, forsooth, This Religious, and This English Plot-Adventure.

Great Sufferers by the Plot.

It is not to be Deny'd, (and it is already Agreed) that Kings, Nation, and People, have Suffer'd All manner of ways, and in a very Great Measure, too, quite thorough This Perfidious Administration; and All for Fear of the Damnable Hellish Popish Plot: Because, and by Reason of it; and that we were Necessitated to do what we did, to secure his Late Majesty, and his Government, against Popish Conspirators; and his Sacred Person; against Poison, and Silver-Bullets. Had it not been for This Damnable Plot, the King had been Safe; The Queen and the Duke, Untroubled; and the People had still continu'd in their Wits and in their Duty. The Popish Lords had been yet at Liberty; the Priests, Jesuits, and the Godfrey Men, Unhang'd; The Popish might have had Tolerable Quarter among the rest of the Kings



Kings Subjects; & the *Honour*, and *Justice* of the *English Nation* might have yet stood as Fair in the *Esteem* of Other *Christian Princes*, and *States*, as ever it did: So that upon the *Upshot*, what have we now to say; for the *Wickedness*, the *Folly*, and the *Madness* of *Those Times*, if there was [NO Popish Plot at all,] nor any thing Like it, but the *Seditious Confederacy* of an *Ambitious Caball* of *Juggling*, *Canting Hypocrites*, to *Murder* the *King* *Themselves* from behind *That Stale*? What *Reparation* now, for *Innocent Blood*, and *Oppression*? What *Satisfaction*, or *What Effectual Repentance*, for *Those that Preach'd*, *Pleaded*, *Supported*, *Assisted* (how *Innocently* soever,) the *Credit* of *That Diabolical Imposture*, without making the *Churches*, the *Courts of Justice*, *Coffee-Houses*, and Other *Publique Places*, Ring as *Loud* of their *Mistake*, as ever they did of their *Invectives*, and *Clamours*? The *Misleading* of *People* into a *Belief* of *Falsities*, of *This Desperate Kind*, and *Consequence*, even though I my self take them to be *Truths*, is but next door to the *Swearing Men* into a *Belief* of *That* which I *Know* to be *False*: That is to say, If I do not Endeavour to set All *Those People Right*, that I Carry'd out of the *Way*, when I come to find *My Own Error*. The *Shame* of a *Repentance*, is not far Remov'd from the *Willfull*, and *Deliberate Committing* of a *Sin*. I do not Expect, that *My Sermonizing* here shall Work upon *Those* that Shut their *Eyes* against the *Light* of *Experience*, and *Example*; though One would think that men should be very *Wary* of Setting *That Door Open*, over and over again, that had been still the *Inlet* to all our *Former Confusions*. If a *Thief* Breaks into my *House* at a *Garret-Window*, I'll provide *Better Bars*, and *Bolts*: And Undoubtedly, a *Government* may have a *Weak side*, as well as a *Private Habitation*, and there ought to be as much *Care* taken to Secure a *State* against *Political House-Breakers*, upon *That Quarter* where they ever Enter'd Before.

### *A Caution against the same Cheat over again.*

THE *President* of *This Cheat*, and *Pretext*, and the *Sense* of the *Ruinous Calamities*, which the *Belief* of it has brought upon us, should, methinks, *Fortify* men against *Those Panick Frights*; and *That Childish Jealousie*, and *Credulity*, that has Wrought us All *This Misery*; And it is not to say, that there may be more *Reason* for *This Apprehension* at *One Time*, then at *Another*; for let the *Reason* be *Great*, *Little*, or *None at all*, it works the *Same Effect* upon the *Common People*, when either the *Fear*, or the *Truth* of the *Thing*, is *Unseasonably*, & *Unduly* *Expos'd*. There may be a *Thousand Popular Causes* Assign'd, for a *Rebellion*; but the *Whole World* can never furnish One *Shadow of Reason* for it. The *Father* of our *Present Sovereign*, was a *Strict Asserter* of the *Church of England*; and his *Sacred Majesty* that now is; no less, an *Asserter* of the *Communion* of the *Church of Rome*. Now the *Difference* of *Persuasion* betwixt *These* two most *Gracious Kings*, neither *Did*, nor *Does*, *One* *not Operate* upon the *Matter* here in *Question*: For the very *Sham* of *Papery* Cost *That Blessed Prince* his *Crown*, and his *Life*, as a *Roman-Catholic*, though he was so far from it. 'Tis *True*; the *Suggestion*, may *Colour Better*, *One way*, then *Another*; but whether it be so, or *Not so*, 'tis all a *Case*, as to the *Danger*, *Troubling the Heads*, or the *Minds* of the *Multitude* with it, either *One Way*, or *Another*. It makes *Sovereignty Conditional*, and the *Loose Multitude Absolute*; when the *Chief Magistrate* shall be *Answerable* to the *Rabble* for his *Religion*; and when the *Mobile's Opinion* shall *Stamp* *That Religion*, and say, *Let him be of This*, or of *That Religion*, and he *shall be so*. They were never *Cut out* for the *Judging*, or the *Understanding* of *Things*; But *Plausible Disguises* and *Appearances*, have with *Them*, the *Force*, and *Value* of *Certain Truths*, and *Foundations*: And 'tis a *Hard matter*, to bring *people* out of the *Wrong*, that are not able to *Discern*, and to *Distinguish* the *Right*.

### *The Reasons of This Undertaking.*

THIS is already an *Over-grown Preface*; and I must make it yet a little *Longer*, by *Expounding* upon it, (with a respect to the whole *Matter* before me) and by the *Reasons* I am to give for the *Spinning* of it out to *This Length*. I was gotten a good way into't, with the *Design* of an *Introduction* only to my *Third Volume* of *Observations*; and with such a *Mixture of Lights*, toward the *Clearing* of *Several Matters* in *Controversy* betwixt the *World*, and *my self*, as might serve to set any *Reasonable Man*, *Right*, in the *Naked State* of the *Question*. While I had *This* in my *Thought*, and my *Papers* under *Consideration*, it came into my *Head*, that there was something *Wanting* yet, both as to the *Use*, and the *End* that was *Aim'd at*, in *This Publication*; and that Notwithstanding the *Unquestionable Truth*, and *Clearness* of *Fact*, & of *Doctrine*, that was *Reported*, and *Deliver'd* in *Those Dialogues*, there were still *Several Defects*, that were, *Inevitable*, under the *Circumstances* wherein they were *Written*, and as *Necessary* for my purpose, in *Some Degree* to be *Supply'd*; And *This* will *Undenably Appear* to any man that shall but take *Notice* of the *Time*, and the *Occasion* of the *Undertaking*.

AS to the *Time*; the *Faction* had the *Ascendent* of the *Government*, and the *Multitude* In Respect of the *Time*. bore down All before them like a *Torrent*; The *Witnesses* led the *Rabble*; The *Plot-Master* led the *Witnesses*; and the *Devil* Himself led the *Leaders*. For they were to pass to their *Ends* thorough *Subornation*, *Perjury*, *Hypocrisy*, *Sacrilege*, and *Treason*. This was the *State* of *Things* when I first dip't my *Pen* into *This Province*; And there was no *Launching-out*, into the *Abyss* of the *Plot-Mystery*, without *Certain Ruine*; but *Coasting*, and *Slanting*, *Hinting*, and *Trimming*, was the *Best Office* a body could Perform in *That Season*: And the *Man* had been *Felo de se*, that should have taken upon him to search the *Ulcer* to the *Quick*, A little *Skirting* now and then upon the *Narratives*; and *Bantering*, betwixt *Jest* and *Earnest*, upon the *Credit* of the *Witnesses*, gave *people*, by *Little and Little*, to *Understand*, as much as any man could *Safely Communicate*: But the *Foundations* of the *Plot* lay as yet *Untouch'd*; The *Patrons*, and the *Vouchers* of it, remain'd *Sacred*; and, for a *Long Time*, there was no *Meddling* with a *Vote*, without burn-

ing a *Man's Fingers*; So that the *Source* of the *Plot* lay hitherto in the *Bottles* of the *Earth*, and like a *Consecrated Fountain*, it would have been little less than *Sacrilege*, to *Puddle* and *Prophane* it. But since it has pleas'd God, by a *Beam of Providence* it self, to *Light* us into all the *Intrigues*, and *Recesses* of it, and to *Deliver* this Nation from the *Tyranny* of *Arbitrary Orders*, and *Nemine Contradicente's*; I thought I could not do better, then to lay hold of, and to *Improve* this *Opportunity* of *Tracing* it from the *Labourers*, and the *Journey-men*, to their *Principalls*; and, in *One Word* more; to shew the *Next Age*, *Fists* in her *Majesty*, in the *Caballit* self; and that [ *All the Knights, &c.* ] Govern'd the *Oraculous Deduction* from *One End* to the *Other*: Beside that 'tis a *Thing* that has not so much as yet been Offer'd at, by any *Other Hand*, & *All the Rest*, without *This*, amounted to no more then the shewing of *Children a Puppet-Play*: They hear the *Figures Squeak*, and see 'em *Dance*, and *Play*; but know nothing of the *Springs*, and *Wyes*, that give taem *Motion*. So that the *Historical Part* of *This Preamble*, is not a *Repetition* of the *Matters* Contain'd in the *Observator*, but a *Fair*, and a *Regular Deduction*, in it's *Proper Season*, of *Matters* which were at *That Time Secret*, *Dangerous*, & *Consequently*, not to be *Laid Open* to the *Publicque*.

And to the Oc-  
casion.

There is Another Imperfection, which I Reflected upon, with a regard to the *Thrid*, & Continuation of the *Story*; which I could not Attend to, in the *Course* of Those *Observators*; for the *Intent* of them, being to Encounter *Shams*, *Slanders*, *Seditious Libells*, and *Opinions*, pro *Re Natâ*, as the *Humour*, and *Business* of the *Times* Started them; I was not the *Master* of my *Own Business*, but forc'd, to Follow, Turn, or to go Forward, or Backward, as the *Freak* of the *Conspirators* Led me; and Briefly; to Accommodate the *Bias* of my *Papers* to the *Topiques* of the *Times*. In Few Words, they were Design'd for *Present Use*; and to *Expose* the *Imposture*, and the *Cheat*, of the *Swearers*, and of the *Matters Sworn*, by the *Palpable Contradictions* of their *Evidence*, as well by *Word of Mouth*, as in *Writing*. But to make some *Ameends*, for the *Disorder* of *Papers* that were written only by *Snatches*, and therefore *Excusable* for want of a *Formal Transition* from *One* into *Another*, provided they kept the *Decorum* of a *Connexion*, every one apart: I thought it might be worth the while, to Draw a more *Methodical Extract* of the *Plot*, out of the *Transactions* upon the *Commons Journal*, and to *Range* the *Members* of the *Several Divisions*, under their *Proper Heads*; which I have done, with *All Fidelity*, and *Candour* in *This Short History*.

Objections An-  
swer'd.

People will be apt to take *This* now, for only *Told Cabridge*, three or four times serv'd up. [ *Why we have had Plot enough*, in the *Observators*, they'll Cry; *There's no body doubts of the Plot*; and *This* is no more, in *Effect*, then *Chewing the Cud* upon his *Own Papers*, &c. ] Now *This* is a *Question*, as *Easily Answer'd*, as it is *Anticipated*. I am here upon the *Subject* of a *Parliamentary Plot*; whereas my *Observators* kept themselves within the *Compass* of a *Narrative Plot*; neither does the *One Interfere* at all, with the *Business* of the *Other*. As to the *Faith*, and *Justice* of the *Dialogues*, I am perswaded, that there was hardly anything *Considerable*, that Pass'd within the *Compass* of *Their Date*, and that would *Endure a Publick Test*, at *That Season*, which may not be found *Expressly*, and *Punctually*, set forth in that *Collection*; and *Those* are *Particulars*, wherein *This Additional Supplement* does not pretend to *Intermeddle*.

And I have yet *One Word* more to say; if I may, without *Fainity*, give this *Account* of my self. From the *First Moment* of *Oates's Plot* coming into the *World*, I look'd upon it, and Declar'd my *Opinion* of it, as a *Conspiracy in Disguise*. I Contracted a *Horror* for it; and [ *Vow'd to make War*, against the *Whore and Dragon*, of *Geneva*, and *All her Votaries* as long as I had a *day to Live*; and that I would, to the *Utmost* of my *Power*, Discover her *Cheats* and *Villanies*. ] *Learned Authors* have *Written* after *Oates's* *Capp*; and (to give the *Devil his Due*.) *This Figure* is *Borrow'd* from a *Rhetorical Flight* in *Titus Oates's* *Dedicatory* to *Anthony Earl of Shaftsbury*, before his [ *Popes* *White House*. ] [ *In the Publication* of *This Poor Piece*, by many *Reviews* and *Remarques*, I have been at some *PAINS*; and now my *Lord* it is upon the [ *TRAVEL*. ] Your *Lordships* *Countenance* may beget the *Countenances* of many more *Persons* of *Honour*: So that I may not to all *Intents* and *Purposes* be *Discouraged* in this *War* that I have *Vow'd to make* against the *Whore and Dragon* of *Rome*, and *All her Votaries*, as long as I have a *Day to Live*; and will to the *Utmost* of my *Power* Discover all her *Cheats* and *Villanies*. ] And so much for my *Authority*.

A Horror for the  
Plot, from the  
Beginning.

But, (as I was a saying) I Contracted a *Horror* for this *Villanous Cheat* of a *Plot*, from the very *Springing* of it; and, in the same *Instant*, an *Ambition*, above all things under the *Sun*, to have some *Hand* in *Breaking the Neck* of it. From *That time* to *This*, I have *Barr'd* my self the *Benefits* of *Ease*, *Liberty*, *Conversation*, and *Effectually*, *All the Comforts* of *Human Life*, in *Order* to *This End*: And I hope I have not wholly lost my *Labour* neither. But to make *short*; I found, by *Degrees*, that the *Plot* is *Self*, and the *Plot's Master*, *Lost Ground*. I follow'd the *Plot* till it was *Ridiculous*; I follow'd *Oates* to the *Kings Bench Barr*; *The Pillory*, and the *Carts Arse*. And since that was *Over*, I have had the *Business* of *Sr Edmundbury Godfrey* in my *Eye*; But I have *No Lease* of my *Life*, and so I cannot *Positively Undertake* for it: But there was still *Waiting* a *Parliamentary Calculation* to *Finish* the *Work*, which I have here drawn into a very *Clear Account*, and as *Narrow a Compass*, as the *Infinite Variety* of *Cross-Purposes* and *Debates* would *Admit*. In *One Syllable* more; I am an *Old Fellow*; and if I can but *Live* to get through *That* *Solemn Foppery* of *Prances*, and *Bedlows Vision*, at *Somerset-House*, I *shall Drive Peace*.

April. 28. 1687.

The End.